Trends in Personal Life—*by Margaret Mead*

New Republic

September 23, 1946 · Fifteen Cents

Facts for

NOVEMBER

Men and issues in the 1946 elections: A 32-page special section showing how your congressman voted on 15 vital measures

Wallace—a World Leader

Editorial

IN TWO PARTS: PART ONE

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America finds a new, easy way to save

Out of the war has come one blessing—a lesson in thrift for millions of those who never before had learned to save.

Enrolled under the Payroll Savings Plan in thousands of factories, offices, and stores, over 27 million American wage earners were purchasing "E" Bonds alone at the rate of about 6 billion dollars worth a year by the time V-J Day arrived.

With War Bond Savings automatically deducted from their wages every week, thrift was "painless" to these wage earners. At the end of the war, many who never before had bank accounts could scarcely believe the savings they held.

The moral was plain to most. Here was a new, easy way to save; one as well suited to the future as to the past. Result: Today, millions of Americans are continuing to buy, through their Payroll Savings Plan, not War Bonds, but their peacetime equivalent—*U. S. Savings Bonds.*

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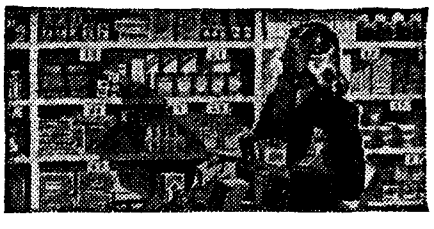

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Weekly Savings	SAVINGS AND INTEREST ACCUMULATED	
	In 1 Year	In 10 Years
$ 3.75	$195.00	$2,163.45
6.25	325.00	3,607.54
7.50	390.00	4,329.02
9.38	487.76	5,416.97
12.50	650.00	7,217.20
15.00	780.00	8,660.42
18.75	975.00	10,828.74

Savings chart. Plan above shows how even modest weekly savings can grow into big figures. Moral: Join your Payroll Savings Plan next payday.

SAVE THE EASY WAY...

BUY YOUR BONDS

THROUGH PAYROLL SAVINGS

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Wallace—a World Leader

HENRY WALLACE'S SPEECH on September 12 at Madison Square Garden was more than a desperate effort to halt a drift to war. It was a reaffirmation of America's moral leadership before the world. From the few poor phrases and thoughts in the speech, from the scorn loaded on it by Communists in the audience and from the cries of conservatives against it, the main argument stands out as a contribution to the search for peace.

The argument recognizes the danger of war between America and the USSR. It asserts that "the real peace treaty we now need is between the United States and Russia."

Wallace argues that Soviet communism and American democracy are two major and stable societies in the world whose differences may be worked out in peace. With great courage he asserts that: "Under friendly peaceful competition, the Russian world and the American world will gradually become more alike. The Russians will be forced to grant more and more of the personal freedoms; and we shall become more and more absorbed with the problems of social-economic justice."

This does not mean aggressive action against Russia. It does mean concessions on both sides. It means that "the Russians should stop teaching that their form of communism must, by force if necessary, ultimately triumph over democratic capitalism, while we should close our ears to those among us who would have us believe that Russian communism and our free-enterprise system cannot live one with another in a profitable and productive peace. . . . Russia must be convinced that we are not planning for war with her, and we must be certain that Russia is not carrying on territorial expansion or world domination through native Communists. . . ."

In these terms Wallace outlines the *basis* for lasting peace. He goes on to analyze the *methods* of securing peace. He recognizes that today the search for national security must lead to war. He proposes that a system of world security be established by making "the armed might of the United Nations so great as to make opposition useless."

The United Nations alone is to possess atomic bombs. The United Nations is to dominate the air power of the world. It is to control "the strategically located air bases with which the United States and Britain have encircled the world." And no nation is to be allowed to spend more than 15 percent of its budget on armaments.

This military power of world organization is to be backed up by world law and by economic power, through large loans, free trade and United Nations control of oil—still the most important single source of military power.

The political strength of world organization is to be strengthened by political accord in Germany, Japan and China.

BUT, Wallace argues, world security will not be effective without World Federation. Federation will come only after years in which peace will be preserved by trust between nations rather than the predominance of power in world organization. During these years, national security will be limited by disarmament and other measures proposed by Wallace. So Wallace offers a transitory aid to national security through spheres of influence. "The Russians have no more business in stirring up native communists to political activity in Western Europe, Latin America and the United States than we have in interfering in the politics of Eastern Europe and Russia. . . . Once the fears of Russia and the United States Senate have been allayed by practical regional reservations, I am sure that concern over the veto power would be greatly diminished. Then the United Nations would have a really great power in those areas which are truly international and not regional."

It is vital to realize that Wallace advances this proposal *within the framework of a strong United Nations attitude.* He is concerned with the pathological fear by the USSR of Anglo-American actions in her border states. He attempts to overcome this fear in a manner acceptable to Americans. He recognizes that his proposal is contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter. He calls for the development of the doctrines

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of the rights of small peoples, but he adds that "practically, its application may be delayed until both British and Russians discover the futility of their methods."

This comment has been attacked. "If it is a true and a wise and a proper comment," asks the New York *Times*, "what business was it of ours when Hitler invaded Poland?"

We agree with the New York *Times*. Our hope is not in regional reservations but in support for true democracy the world over. Wallace's idea was first expressed at Yalta by Franklin Roosevelt. But Roosevelt insisted at Yalta that even in Eastern Europe there would be "governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsible to the will of the people." This sentence has been the cause of major misunderstandings between the USSR and the West. But its spirit remains as an objective, in accordance with the Charter.

EARLY in his speech Wallace asserted: "We must not let British balance-of-power manipulation determine whether and when the United States gets into a war." Wallace was speaking at a Stop Dewey Rally and replying to Dewey's support for an Anglo-American alliance. The alliance is inadequate rather than vicious and Wallace's attack upon it is weak. He forgets that Britain is governed by the Labor Party. He overlooks America's active role in the Middle East. He uses phrases that the British people will misunderstand and that will benefit isolationists alone.

Yet the attacks upon Wallace are wild and unjustified. In attempting to expel Wallace from the progressive movement, the Communist Party will succeed only in expelling itself.

Some Republicans and the conservative press have also attacked the speech. Their principal criticism is that Wallace has exposed a dangerous duality in our foreign policy.

This attitude exposes, instead, a grave and dangerous illness in those who advance it. *If we were at war,* duality in our policy would be dangerous. *If we were dealing with a force in the USSR comparable to Nazi Germany,* then duality would be dangerous. One of these two assumptions lies behind every demand for a rigidity in the foreign policy of our democracy that even the USSR does not possess. But we are not at war and we are dealing with a great nation that wants peace. Wallace is searching for a new basis for peace. At a moment of real danger, that is no crime for a cabinet member to commit.

Senator Taft and the conservatives rage that Wallace has "betrayed" Byrnes and lowered the prestige of America throughout the world. If by the world these circles mean the corridors of the Palace of Luxembourg, they may be right. For the peoples of the world, America's prestige has risen.

Every day the peoples of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of Yugoslavia, are told that American imperialism, ruthless and dictatorial, is driving the world to war. In one day, Wallace's speech has cut further beneath that illusion than months of State Department logic. Wallace helps to create the faith of all peoples in an America that is a free country, wanting world peace.

We live in a progressive world. We would be a lonely, an isolated, weak nation under President Taft and Secretary Krock. We lead the world as progressives or not at all. In voicing our progressive spirit, Wallace stands as a world leader.

Our objective is to implement his program. In indecision, President Truman is being subjected to immense pressure in the name of national unity to destroy the Wallace spirit and, with it, the last hold of the Democratic Party on national power. We ask the President to remember that the support of one friend is better than the approval of a hundred enemies. If unity with Senator Vandenberg means world disunity, the American people will chose Wallace.

Stock-Market Hangover

The latest rumor from Washington about the cause of the recent break in the stock market attributes it to a conclusion of the big boys that labor would not stand by while rising prices nullified wage gains, but would and could push wages up as fast as prices. If this rumor is true, they may have reasoned that their hope of inflationary profits had gone glimmering. An earlier rumor attributed the smash to an effort to make the Administration unpopular as the congressional elections approached.

The real mystery about the slump in stock prices is not that it occurred, but that it occurred at this particular time. After a bull market of more than four years' duration, stocks were overvalued by almost any test. They were sure to fall some time. Those canny buyers who had accumulated their holdings early in the war would be certain to take their profits before the last possible moment. But it was equally true that business deflation still seemed months away. Purchasing power in circulation greatly exceeds supplies of goods at present prices; production and profits are increasing; there is no lack of capital or credit; building and the producers of durable goods have yet to hit their stride.

On this account many commentators have argued that the wave of selling resulted from the nerves of "the public" rather than from manipulation. Fear of war, jitters about strikes, general lack of confidence in the performance of government at Washington and throughout the world may have induced panic. Once the market started to slip badly, everybody who was waiting for the proper moment to sell hastened to

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cash in before it was too late. The market was "thin" —that is, not many wished to increase their holdings and daily trading was so small in relation to the total volume of stocks held that even a moderate excess of selling over buying would drive prices down disproportionately.

It is true that market manipulators have been deprived of many of their old weapons, and margin trading is technically outlawed. Yet the very thinness of the market would now permit large holders to drive the market down if they wished to do so. It may be that a raid of this sort was organized for political reasons or on the basis of some large economic strategy. Our own guess would be rather that professional traders, despairing of making any more money in so small a market which refused to rise above recent tops, thought the time for a shakeout was at hand. They could make more both on the way down and in a subsequent recovery.

Whatever the facts, it is once more demonstrated that the amateur speculator is always likely to be surprised, while the man who attempts to predict the swings of the market on orthodox economic grounds is as badly off as a confirmed pedestrian trying to ride a skittish horse.

News about the C of L

Some government statisticians in Washington, whose business it is to watch these things, believe that barring further upsets, the cost of living has now almost reached its maximum. They note that wholesale prices on 28 fundamental commodities have turned downward. These, by midsummer, had reached a peak of 250 on a scale on which the five years before the First World War represent 100. Since the middle of the summer, the average figure has dropped to 238. As they look beyond the turn of the year into 1947, these experts believe there may be a further lowering of the agricultural price level in particular.

The cost of living, as Washington reckons it, now stands at 44 percent above the 1935-39 level, 10 percent of the increase having come since July first of this year when the old OPA law expired. If the cost of living retains its normal relationship to wholesale prices, no further increase, beyond a point or two, should be expected.

It is possible, of course, that we may witness another round of strikes because of the recent 10-percent increase in the cost of living. Such widespread strikes might produce another increase in prices, and so on. But against this prediction is the fact that most of the contracts with important unions carry over until next spring. If the cost of living should remain stationary for the next few months, or turn down somewhat, it is obvious that a new round of strikes in the spring is rendered less likely.

Why the Meat Shortage?

by Paul Porter

Head of the Office of Price Administration

I want to assure you that the black market is not causing today's acute shortage of meat. Nor is the renewal of price controls the explanation.

Actually, today's severe shortage results almost precisely *because* for two months this summer there were no price controls over meat at a time when they were seriously needed. In that free-for-all period, hundreds of thousands of animals normally intended for marketing in the fall were rushed prematurely to packers' yards, while the sky was the limit on prices.

We are now paying for that abnormal period of glut. Few animals are left which are ready for market now. With prices again controlled, cattle and hog-growers are again feeding, fattening and selling their animals in the normal manner, and by mid-October supplies will become increasingly plentiful.

But let's face this fact honestly and rationally: with or without price controls there will not for many months be enough meat to satisfy the tremendous demand of today's full-employment, high-income economy. Total available meat supply averages only 140 pounds per person per year—about 14 pounds more than before the war, but 10 or 15 pounds *less* than people today have the money and desire to buy. Removing price controls or raising prices cannot increase this total supply—it could only prevent the moderate-income family from being able to afford a fair share of the meat there is.

To cope with this continuing shortage OPA enforcement of ceiling prices is and will be greatly strengthened. We have an effective program of slaughter controls. We have doubled our staff of investigators and tightened all of our enforcement methods. We can and will keep the black market in manageable bounds. The meat industry has, moreover, now offered its earnest coöperation. And with the help and understanding of consumers, all available supplies of meat should be distributed as fairly as possible at reasonable and controlled prices.

The Maritime Strike

John Steelman and Secretary Schwellenbach deserve President Truman's warmest thanks for their efforts to settle the shipping strike. The plan they devised between them, under which the federal government pursues its age-old policy of paying the prevailing wage, not only worked for a prompt ending of the strike but preserved the Administration's face and saved the Wage Stabilization Board for such usefulness as it may still have before wage and price stabilization expire next year.

There never should have been a strike in the first place. The wage increases "won" by the AFL unions

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in excess of the gains made by the CIO last June 14 were so small as to be insignificant. They ranged from $30 to $105 per month per ship. Labor costs on a Liberty ship come to $10,500 a month. The private shipowners were willing to pay the small amount out of their boom-time profits. On government-owned ships the extra cost might well have come from the thousand dollars a day the government pays its agents for operating each ship.

However, with a startling lack of imagination, the Wage Stabilization Board said "no" and 750 ships were tied up at the docks. Among them were 125 UNRRA ships, loaded with food and provisions for the world's needy.

The private shipping operators are not without blame for the strike. They gave in with ease to the demands of John Hawk and Harry Lundeberg, after they had fought to the death the CIO's $17.50 wage increase. They frankly consider the AFL unions the lesser of two evils, and they showed it by willingly giving the AFL more than they reluctantly gave the CIO.

Steelman and Schwellenbach turned the tables on the operators. They made it plain from the beginning of the strike that whatever the AFL was awarded would go to Joe Curran's NMU as well. They foresaw that there could be no peace at sea so long as men doing the same work were paid wages on a different scale.

The operators resisted equal treatment for all their employees, but as we go to press it seems that they will be forced to bow to union pressure and Administration policy. Peace for a year in the maritime industry is what Schwellenbach and Steelman foresee. Harry Bridges, whose contract expires on September 30, is rumbling on the West Coast. But the Administration, Steelman and Schwellenbach believe that he can be contained.

The Maine Elections

There is more to the Maine elections last week than either the Democratic or the Republican National Committee seems to have observed. It is not, of course, unusual for Maine to elect Republicans to Congress or the governorship. It is unusual when the Democrats reverse a trend and improve their position by at least 25 percent, as actually happened in Maine last week.

The vote for Governor in Maine during the past 20 years or more has gone from 30-percent Democratic in 1928 to 50-percent Democratic in 1932 and 1934 and then turned down to 30 percent in 1944. But last week it snapped back to 39-percent Democratic. The vote for the three Representatives paralleled this experience. It jumped back from 29-percent Democratic in 1944 to 37 percent this year.

The Republicans have publicized the fact that Brewster received 64 percent of the senatorial vote this time, compared with 59 percent in 1940. However, if the Republican vote in 1940 is taken into account, Brewster has lost ground in the past two years.

Congressional elections in Maine in September seldom foretell how the national elections will go in November. Allowing for 1946 being an off-year, the total vote was about in line with that of 1944. However, the Democratic vote was larger and the Republican smaller than in 1944. The importance to the Democrats of a heavy vote is obvious, particularly in the North Central and Northeastern states. A good Democratic turnout will not only help save most of the marginal Democratic seats discussed by Louis Bean in last week's issue, but it will also pick up some of the Republican marginal seats.

Elk Hills Oil

With nationwide pleas for a special session of Congress to strengthen price control and expedite housing still unheeded, it seemed a bit ironical last week when members of the House Naval Affairs Committee were called to Washington to hear Standard Oil of California ask the government for more money.

Two years ago the oil company made a contract with the Navy Department to have exclusive right to produce the oil in the vast Elk Hills reserve in California (one-third of which is owned by Standard and two-thirds by the Navy)—a contract considered by many critics as far too favorable to Standard. Now the company is asking the Navy to make another concession. Standard contends that it is costing too much to keep up the reserve in a state of readiness for national defense. The company wants an amendment to the contract whereby the Navy would pay $400,000 of the $600,000 a year required for testing to keep the reserve in good condition for a future emergency.

A move to slip the amendment through the committee was attempted by Commodore W. G. Greenman, director of naval petroleum reserves, who said he believed it to be in the best interests of the United States and interposed no objection to its adoption, but unexpected opposition came from Representative Lyndon Johnson (D, Tex.). Since the Navy Department has the final word in changing the contract, Johnson's opposition forced Committee Chairman Carl Vinson (D, Ga.) to consult Secretary Forrestal, who indicated that he was not willing to go on record for Standard's proposal. As a result, the committee postponed a decision until November 18 and in the meantime will consult independent oil men regarding Standard's claims in revision of the contract. Vinson and his group might well consult the number-one authority on the Elk Hills project, former Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell, who exposed the original Elk Hills contract with the Navy as too favorable to Standard and forced its revision after a thorough investigation of the project.

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Washington Wire—Alert, Quick, Breezy

PRESIDENT TRUMAN was dressed in a double-breasted brown suit. His tie and handkerchief matched. The crowd of reporters lagged in entering because secret-service men inspected each White House pass meticulously. Other secret-service men tried to hurry them into the circular study where the President waited. "All in!" came the announcement finally. Mr. Truman rose.

Most of the newspapermen had read Wallace's foreign-affairs speech to be delivered that night in Madison Square Garden. The reporter who asked the question started badly. He referred to "Secretary of State Wallace," then quickly corrected himself. Truman did not allow him to finish. Was he referring to a speech still to be delivered—? Yes. Well then, he couldn't comment on an undelivered speech. The President adopts an alert, quick, breezy attitude at press conferences. In half a dozen cases this pose has betrayed him: it has been shown later that his impulsive replies are based on insufficient knowledge. In this instance, the reporter explained, Wallace referred to Truman himself, that's why he asked. Having made his sparring point and shown no weakness or hesitation, Truman now good-naturedly agreed to hear the question.

Had the President endorsed the entire Wallace speech or just the paragraph to which specific endorsement was noted? asked the reporter.

Quickly, breezily, alertly, the President replied: his endorsement applied to the whole speech.

Correspondents looked at each other. He might have guarded himself with a brief "No comment." The question came up again. "Do you feel that Wallace's speech represents a departure from Byrnes's foreign policy?"

Quickly and alertly, Truman again responded; no, he didn't: the two speeches were exactly in line. His manner implied that he was dismissing a frivolous question, that reporters ought to ask him something harder. The reporters trooped out. Well, if Truman hadn't understood the implications of the Wallace speech, or hadn't read it (as many still believe), they had. The fat was in the fire.

On Saturday reporters were called in again to watch the interesting spectacle of a President eating his own words. It was a "natural misunderstanding" . . .

John R. Steelman, Stabilization Director, pulled as neat a face-saving formula out of the hat last week in the shipping strike as anybody around here has seen in a long time. The government was licked, no question about it. Steelman illustrated how to climb off a limb gracefully. His statement was as curt, didactic and omniscient as the reply of a Luce editor confusing an issue for a reader who has discovered a palpable mistake. He even bobbed up with a Navy precedent from 1862 to show how normal and natural his slight amendment to the stabilization formula was. It is only by groping for a minute or two through federal dialectic that the reader discovers the government's concession. And who can blame John Steelman? It is true that when the anti-inflation wage-stabilization formula is really pushed to the wall, one suddenly finds that it isn't there. But how can you preserve wage controls when Congress has shot the bottom out of price controls? Steelman is doing the best he can with the inadequate materials at his disposal. Who can blame a real artist for glossing his work with an 1862 naval precedent?

In his 12-point program for a GOP Congress, Republican chairman Reece declares as point 10 that he will fire "about two-thirds of the three million civilian employees of the federal government." Of course the Republicans won't do any such thing; the danger is, however, that they might try. Federal employees now total 2,705,014, of whom 423,000 are abroad. Since the latter are chiefly connected with defense or diplomatic work, Reece would probably concentrate on the 2,282,014 at home (a drop from over three million, incidentally, at wartime peak). If Reece fired two-thirds of the employees it would mean that America could keep only the Veterans' Administration, Post Office and Treasury: all other departments would close.

It is the fashion now for economy-hunters to attack public employees, whether federal or local. In Norwalk, Connecticut, teachers went on a successful nine-day strike to get better pay. The National Education Association, with offices here, underlines the disgraceful predicament of teachers caught by inflation. Public-school teachers number 900,000; there's been a turnover of 660,000 in the past eight years. In 1920, teachers' colleges enrolled 22 percent of all college students, now only seven percent. Many cities seem unwilling to levy taxes high enough to pay teachers more than street sweepers or garbage collectors.

Who ordered dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Admiral William Halsey unreservedly charged last week it was the atomic scientists; they "had this toy and they wanted to try it out, so they dropped it." Actually, on June 1, 1945, two months before Hiroshima, a committee of Chicago scientists sent a report to the Secretary of War declaring America would lose her moral position by loosing the bomb in a surprise attack on Japan, and advocating a demonstration on an uninhabited locality. On June 11, a petition to the same effect, signed by 64 Chicago scientists, was sent to Truman. Dr. A. H. Compton polled 150 participating scientists, three-quarters of whom voted against all-out use. Responsibility for using the bomb, whatever Halsey says, lies on the Joint Chiefs of Staff in consultation with Truman and his special board of advisers. One hopes that the agreeable President really understood the implication of what he was doing and did not, "by a natural misunderstanding," say one thing and mean another.

Washington T. R. B.

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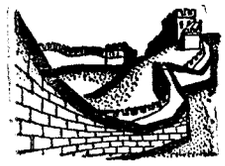

An American Policy for China

by Richard Watts Jr.

ALTHOUGH THE SITUATION grows increasingly grave, there is still time for American policy in China to become positive and constructive. There is still time to stop playing power politics against the Soviet Union and formulate a policy based on the needs of the long-suffering Chinese people. There is still time to make China a bridge between the United States and the USSR instead of a breeding ground for a third world war. There is still time to put an end to what amounts to sabotage of our own best interests and the interests of Chinese democratic progress. But there is not much time.

To call for a constructive policy is not to deny the integrity and the efforts of General Marshall in the interest of peace, or the sincerity of President Truman in his original directive to his special envoy which demanded broadening the government to include non-Kuomintang parties. The trouble from the start has been the sinister dualism in American activity in China: we strive for peace and unity with one hand and encourage civil war with the other. The contrast between our protestations of impartiality in mediation and our support of one of the Chinese factions has become so obvious that it was not surprising to find a paper published in Shanghai saying recently, "For our part, we are still attempting to figure out whether General Marshall has come here as an American mediator or as the commander of the combined US-Nationalist forces in the crusade against Yenan." The interesting thing is that it was not a Communist paper which uttered this first criticism of our special envoy but the American-owned and edited, non-Communist *China Weekly Review*.

NON-INTERVENTION, NAZI STYLE

It is certainly no secret that American policy, despite its pretense of impartiality, has taken a definite side in the Chinese internal conflict. It is knowledge shared in the most safely conservative circles. More than a month ago, the New York *Herald Tribune* agreed with Madame Sun Yat-sen that "the reactionaries who control the political machinery of the Kuomintang government of China" are planning "to exterminate the Chinese Communists, and . . . they believe Washington will be forced to support them in this endeavor." It is no wonder they believe it, since we have armed, trained and transported to areas of conflict the Kuomintang troops who have done most of the fighting against the Communist armies, and we have given financial support to the Kuomintang, guarded its lines of communication and supplied it with planes to bomb Red areas.

Hallett Abend, former New York *Times* correspondent in China, has never in his long career in the Far East been accused of left-wing sympathies. Yet in his new book, *Reconquest*, Mr. Abend tells in detail how, at the time of the Japanese surrender, strong Communist armies had surrounded such cities as Nanking, Hankow, Shanghai, Peiping and Tientsin, while the Kuomintang forces were too weak to approach them. Thereupon the Americans arrived in force and turned these prize cities over to the Kuomintang, as the Reds, "determined to avoid armed clashes with the Americans, looked on with baffled chagrin, and then slowly withdrew from all of the key points." He adds: "If this was not armed intervention in China's civil war, then Hitler and Mussolini have been falsely accused of having intervened in the civil war in Spain."

THE BOGEY OF COMMUNISM

The *China Weekly Review* was equally caustic when speaking of President Truman's announced plan for training and supplying a Chinese army of a million men. It said:

> In a sense, then, the President has utilized these grants to the National Government as a "war of nerves" on the Yenan regime. He has thereby shown his hand by casting all neutrality to the four winds. If the war should become a long-drawn-out affair, thanks to an intransigent attitude adopted by the Nationalist Government following what amounts to unlimited United States aid, the fault will not only lie in Nanking, but to a perhaps greater degree in Washington. Should Moscow suddenly announce a half-billion loan to Yenan and the dispatch of large supplies to the Chinese Reds, no doubt Washington would interpret this as another example of the Kremlin meddling in non-Russian affairs. How, then, must the Truman statements appear to third parties? Or doesn't Washington care any longer?

Clearly our policy in China is aimed at the Russians rather than at the Chinese. We try to establish peace in the Orient by "getting tough with Russia," and the result is that both civil war in China and additional unpleasantness with the USSR appear certain. We want to keep China from going Communist and are doing everything possible to ensure communism there. The strongest bulwark against it would be a coalition government composed of the Democratic League and the

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remaining liberals in the Kuomintang, as well as the Communists, which would rebuild the country along progressive, democratic lines. Instead, by backing the worst elements in the government party, we are keeping the Kuomintang liberals from rising to power, enabling the violent right-wing leaders to destroy the Democratic League by assassination and terrorism and making certain that moderate liberals are rendered impotent. Since Chinese reaction is notoriously incompetent, it can survive only as long as we prop it up with bayonets, and when it collapses there will be only communism, and not a coalition of various progressive groups, including the Communists, to take its place.

The Role of Russia

There are intelligent Americans who fear all this and yet contend that it is necessary for us to oppose the Chinese Communists because they are inherently allies of the Russians. It is to be hoped that they read the dispatches that Benjamin Welles, well informed son of Sumner Welles, sent to his paper, the New York *Times*, from North China last month, which on two occasions referred to a pro-Russian element among the Chinese Communists, thereby at least suggesting that there are other elements not exactly subservient to Moscow. The truth is that there has never been the slightest evidence that the Chinese Reds, whatever their ideological and emotional ties to the Soviet Union, have received any military or financial support from it, although all kinds of people representing all kinds of views have tried to get proof of such aid. Indeed, the Russians, for all their looting of Manchurian factories, appear to have behaved impeccably in Chinese internal politics.

Despite evidence that the Chinese Communists form a national group free of Russian domination, American policy seems determined to drive them into the arms of Moscow and, when Welles suggests that the "pro-Soviet element" is growing, there is reason to believe him. We are also giving the Russians every possible reason for abandoning their neutrality in the Chinese internal struggle and providing active help to the Communists of Yenan. We are openly aiding the Kuomintang, instead of giving the proper support to the establishment of a coalition government. We have shown that we are against the Communists of China and the moderate Democratic League as well, and that we stand behind the reactionaries of the country, even to the extent of helping them in a civil war. If the Communists do not look to Russia for help and the Russians do not look upon their plea with sympathy, after we have made all this so clear, then they are both growing unaccountably careless in their quest for security.

Of course in a military struggle, the Kuomintang armies, armed, equipped, trained, transported and provided with an air force by the United States, will no doubt win preliminary victories, drive the Communists out of many districts they have occupied and perhaps force them back to their previous guerrilla tactics. But the Kuomintang would lean increasingly on powerful American military aid, since the growing decadence and corruption of the ruling clique have destroyed its wartime mass backing and made it too weak to crush by itself a popular resistance of even greater strength than that which held out against the KMT and the Japanese in the earlier war years. The attitude of American troops toward US support of the Kuomintang was indicated by Welles's recent account of how the Marines in North China dislike the government party. Nevertheless, unless something is done quickly, we are almost certain to be entangled in a civil war with grave international implications. It is no longer enough to continue our now ineffectual mediation. Something definite, positive and constructive is required, something that would appeal to the imagination of both China and the United States and impress the Russians.

A Constructive Program

It seems certain that the proper dynamic impression would be created if President Truman were to announce a five-point program along the following lines:

1. Our troops are to be withdrawn from China at once.
2. Any disagreement with Russia or any other country over China will be referred to the United Nations.
3. Our announced plan for training and supplying Chinese troops is withdrawn; instead we propose to train 500 young Chinese per year to be doctors, public-health experts, sanitary engineers and other public servants.
4. The offer of a big loan is extended to China, but only for peacetime purposes and only to a genuine coalition government.
5. Help is offered to China to establish five or six river developments similar to the TVA.

Of course any such program is certain to be denounced as appeasement of Russia, surrender to Chinese communism, betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and the latest equivalent of giving milk to the Hottentots. Since, however, it is we and not the Russians who are interfering in Chinese internal affairs with armed force; since such a program is more likely to keep China from a completely Communist regime and save at least part of Chiang's prestige than would a disastrous civil war; and since building a modern China is perhaps no more visionary than providing the country with a military machine, the inevitable denunciations can be borne with equanimity. At least the program would be a definite step toward giving a potentially magnificent nation its chance to develop in peace, democracy and well-being, instead of continuing to be used as an arena for the most dangerous kind of power politics. The people of China are worth thinking about again.

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Trends in Personal Life

by Margaret Mead

When we, as Americans, ask such questions as: What is happening to personal relations in the United States? we are looking, at least half the time, through European eyes. Our memories are laden with the lovely words with which English and French, even Greek and Latin, have defined human relationships between lovers, between parents and children and between friends. If asked to supply quickly a quotation on any known human relationship, the words that slip easily from our lips are old-world words, begotten in a status society where the Middle Ages still linger in art and in life.

And if we are not quoting, we are at least listening a good half the time to the strictures of our European friends who point to what America lacks in the field of personal relations. "There is no intimacy in America," complains one. "Americans have no expectation of forming deep, intense personal ties," says the noted psychiatrist. "You Americans, you take us to your hearts with both arms—and promptly forget us," says the traveled English lady. "In Germany," muses the exile, "a girl does not have to get drunk before she will make love." "Why do you keep all your lights so low?" asks the young male visitor. "We may be shy, but we are not frightened; we can make love with the lights on." "No American woman ever completely gives herself to anyone." "Where is your 'skin' anyway in America—the place where if we could touch you, you would really react?" "Americans are coming to believe in the interchangeability of human beings," your newspaper columnists say. "Your husband bores you, madam, get another husband." So it goes on, from visiting poet to resident psychoanalyst, from the young man who can't see why, if American women are what he has been led to believe, he has so little luck, to the young man who, after listening to the conversation of young American men, feels that every American woman will expect him to make love to her—and therefore flees. Through our minds their evaluation continually echoes, until we find ourselves judging ourselves through their eyes. We have become actors for an audience which is half ourselves soaked in a European tradition, and half the Europeans among us who find their American adventures in love and friendship so very hard to understand.

All this might not matter so much if it were not that the same problem is posed even to the young American who reads no poetry, has barely heard of Dante and knows no recently arrived European literati. He, too, must see his personal relationships—lived American style—through a misty haze of tradition which is no longer relevant or appropriate. The boy and girl who meet for an evening, who perhaps will spend the night together, perhaps will marry and part in a month, or perhaps rear five children and eventually buy a farm—do not have a language for each of these situations. They have only one language, that of monogamous and eternal love, a language which is tattered by the cynical overtones which must be present when it is used inappropriately, language which sounds flat when it is true because it has been untrue so often.

A Standard without Language

This confusion of standards is more serious than the trend toward the slight and situational style in our human relationships, for we really have no standard yet by which to judge whether or not these are rewarding. You cannot judge a style in relationships until it has what any style deserves, a language, a poetry of its own. The effects which T. S. Eliot produced in his famous poem: "When lovely woman stoops to folly, and paces about her room again, alone, she smooths her hair with automatic hand, and puts a record on the gramophone," reflect a double tragedy, a form of action which no longer meets the older words but is smothered in their memory.

Thus there is a very real dilemma for the average young American boy or girl. They may know their acts, know the opening and the closing lines of a date or an affair, a romance or a marriage; they may know when to shift the voice but keep the words the same, or when to shift the words but keep the voice the same. They may know how to tell a wolf and they may actually be quite sure in their personal interchanges, but still they are burdened with the patterns of a different kind of a society, at a different period in history; their tongues are clotted with inappropriate words, and the clear line of their movement toward and away from one another is partially obscured by vows which are meaningless on their lips. What indeed is happening to personal relationships in America? They are in fact becoming more and more American, which means they are developing a distinctive style and tempo of their own. And an ethic, too—for the scorn of American young people for those who do not obey the rules is authentic scorn, only

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cast in a new mold the contours of which our eyes are unpracticed in following.

This new style, which we understand so little, can be understood better, perhaps, when it is referred to the great contrast in the lives of the majority of Americans between the pattern of human relationships which they learn at home and the pattern they learn at school and out in the world. In many cases this contrast is a contrast between cultures, between homeways which are Polish or Italian or Irish, or at least stem from a completely different part of the United States, and school and outer-world ways which represent the more standard American culture. Even where this overt contrast does not occur, there is still an expectation of conflict between the standards of the home and the standards of the social group, with an increasing demand that the home must yield, that mothers must let their daughters "wear what the other girls wear" and "do what the other girls do."

The Family v. the Group

When mothers cease to say, "When I was a girl I was not allowed . . ." and substitute the question, "What are the other girls doing?" something very fundamental has happened to the whole culture. This expectation of difference and acceptance of a gradual relinquishing of the home style for the group style carry over into personal relations as well. A man does not, when he is an immigrant or the son of an immigrant, expect to marry a girl who either looks or cooks like his mother. Nor, if he is the descendant of several generations of Americans, does he expect his wife to dress or act like his mother. His mother was old, his wife must be young indefinitely. Both cultural difference and the reinforcements of steadily changing fashions help to break the direct resemblances between mother, wife and daughter, and, less explicitly perhaps, between father, husband and son. Relinquishing the image of the parent is balanced by withdrawing all demands upon the child that the parental image be reflected. Discontinuities in the direct family line and an extra-anxious sensitivity to the demands of the age group are preëminently characteristic of American culture and are becoming more and more common in other parts of the world, as old stable populations migrate and become urbanized, secularized and uprooted.

So the American can be described as both culturally uprooted and able to take root quickly, the break between home and school severing roots which increasingly—because that home partakes more and more of the general tone of American life—do not go very deep, and the eager acceptance of the outside world developing a rapid facility in putting short roots down very quickly. Where European personal relationships, in their typical forms, seem to follow directly on the family pattern, American relationships follow, instead, patterns characteristic of the school class, the age group, the gang, the team, the office, the outfit, the club—associations formed not in the passionate intensity of a close family circle, but in the give and take of fortuitously assembled groups of contemporaries.

This pattern was highly developed in the army, where loyalty to members of one's outfit was admittedly the strongest incentive to bravery and self-sacrifice and led to bitter self-reproach and even to breakdown if another perished while one oneself survived. Within the outfit, whether it is a school, military or work unit, the average American—especially the American male—for girls have never quite so completely passed from the pattern of relationship based on close home ties to the patterns based on shared goals—makes just one basic distinction. He classifies the other members as either "good joes" or not. If he classifies them as good, it means he will treat them with an effervescent sort of backslapping warmth, stifle his desire to gibe at their weaknesses and jeer at their idiosyncrasies, and accept them. To them he will give a loyalty such as in many societies is reserved for members of one family and which wholly overrides preferences cast in terms of temperament or bent.

This loyalty is strong enough to take men through the darkest days of battle, to keep men working on long shifts or striking outside closed plant doors; on the strength of it one grimly assumes responsibility for the death of a member of the group and takes over the job of comforting his widow. And yet these are not personal friendships, in the sense that they re-enact stronger, personal choices which echo the home ties of childhood. They are not ties to Bill or Joe, but to Bill-on-the-team, to Joe-in-the-office. And because it is a strain, even to the American, who did after all grow up in a home where the relationships were among a very few people with strong contrasts in age and sex and role, to accept so many people, uncritically, as members of the "crowd," various typical compensations develop. Any group that can legitimately be labeled foreign or *other* is rejected in the same wholesale way as the own group is accepted, and there is a nostalgic idealization of past groups in which the intimacy and warmth which all groups simulate are imagined really to have occurred.

Impersonal Warmth

Here we have a rationale of the seeming contradiction of the American, who is so good-humoredly uncritical of his pals and so unfairly and undiscriminatingly intolerant of outsiders, and of the ever recurrent institution of the reunion, in which people try to recapture a glamor which they solemnly believe lies always in former associations rather than in present ones. The American is compelled to take an enormous slice of mankind to his heart or have it wither altogether. Inevitably he protects the inner core of his heart against the horde whose backs he slaps and whose

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nicknames fall so enthusiastically from his lips. The situation, not he, has selected them. True to what he learned so young, he buys acceptance by the group with acceptance of it.

Relations between men and women inevitably mirror these same patterns. Beginning with the *date*, significantly an occasion in time rather than a relationship to a person, boys and girls practise a style of social intercourse whose content is personal and sexual but whose form is impersonal and asexual. Each date stands alone, one incident in a series whose number and character determine one's popularity rating. One has dates because it is the thing to do. The popular boy goes with the popular girl, because by so doing each enhances his own popularity. The evening is spent in a conversational and postural game as patterned as a minuet, in which the boy claims the girl's favors as his right, and she refuses them, because she is secure enough in her popularity to do so. All refusals lie with her, and she learns to discipline her responsiveness so that she will never go farther than she wishes.

Only the unpopular girl has to carry petting to the limits where the reward the boy receives is grossly physical rather than a delicate flattery of his good judgment in having taken out a girl who knows her way around. The girl who has to pet excessively or sit at home alone is identified in the boy's mind with the kind of girl who never keeps the seams of her stockings straight, as opposed to the girls whose stocking seams run straight and true and whom you would take out "even if you had to maybe take her *mother* along." Small wonder that American women later feast their imaginations on the Sheik and his recurrent contemporary images—a male who is irresistible because he is foreign and so misses her restrictive cues. While the popular boy and girl go on dating for several years, the unpopular, the frightened, the relatively unchosen, slip away in pairs and "go steady," accepting a permanent and definite relationship with one person in lieu of a gayer world in which they have failed.

Happily Ever After

But when the shift comes to courtship—a shift made so imperceptibly that the foreign ear is very slow in picking up its nuances—the whole original contradiction between a style of personal relationships which have been bequeathed from a world in which family patterns were paramount, and a world in which young people have learned to feel in terms of situations and occasions rather than in reference to persons, comes into play. So young Americans fall in love in terms of an extreme romanticizing of the old values, with the "only girl in the world," with "Mr. Right," with an ideal of the kind of love which Dante had for Beatrice and of a way of life which is only possible when marriages are made between those whose every word evokes deeply shared cultural values. So they pass, through the open gate of coincident physical passion—a passion which is rendered less poignant and more easily repeatable because they have toyed with it all through adolescence—and generalized social approval, into a state which tradition bids them define as eternal.

Grasping at straws: "His grandfather and my uncle had cottages right next to each other in Florida." "My mother and his mother were both born on the 29th of February," pitifully inadequate substitutes for a common culture, they build up a sense of a past which destined them for each other. Taught to use sex as a counter rather than value it as either a means of self-expression or communication, they make rather less of connubial bliss than the members of many other societies, but a surprising number devote their whole lives to a successful attempt to prove that because they married for love, and of their own choice, they are happy. For those who fail, the situational definition of human relationships is immediately available. A new girl becomes the only girl in the world, a new man, Mr. Right. But the great majority who surprisingly enough do not fail, find in the course of improving the cherished proposition that they were in love and so are happy, that they have come to believe it, so for them it is true.

Who Cares About Cancer?

by Ralph G. Martin

The interne tried to smile. He told the little old lady that there was no room for her at the hospital now, but that they would write her doctor and tell him how to take care of her. The old lady looked at him disbelievingly, then tried to say something and couldn't. Finally, she walked away.

Later, he explained:

"It hurts like hell to turn them down like that, but what can we do? We've only got a hundred beds in the whole place and there's a waiting list of nearly 150. Even the critical cases wait about four weeks before we can admit them; the others wait about 10 weeks. We just can't accept any patients unless there's some hope for them."

What he didn't say was that there was a whole empty floor upstairs, an empty floor with 33 unused beds. This is one of four cancer hospitals in the entire United States and 33 of its 100 beds are empty.

"Know why that floor's closed?" asked medical director James Rogers. "Because we need five trained nurses and we can't get them. The five who just left wanted a salary increase, and they deserved it, but we couldn't give it to them. We were operating on a six-month budget and didn't know how much the state

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legislature would give us. So they left. Now we're offering higher salaries and we can't get anybody."

So there are 33 empty beds.

But then it's strange that there's a cancer hospital in Missouri at all. Only two other states have one—New York and Massachusetts. Not only is this modern seven-story cancer hospital the only one west of the Mississippi, but it's the only one in the country exclusively for those who can't afford to pay. It was opened here in 1940 mostly because several close relatives of the then Governor Stark died of cancer at the same time that a dynamic St. Louis surgeon, Ellis Fischel, was strongly plugging the idea of such a hospital.

Once it was built, interest lagged. No rich men came through with endowments. So the Ellis Fischel Cancer Hospital needs money. Not only for additional personnel (they only have a dozen nurses compared to 50 in the Massachusetts hospital), but for other things.

There's a million-volt radiotherapy machine which the War Surplus Board will sell them at three percent of its original value; but they haven't the money to buy it.

There's a program of cancer education among farmers—the patients are almost all farmers—a program which would help the patients, the state, everybody. It would require only a few supervisors, but they can't afford it. There's a plan of research which they've never been able to put into practice because nobody ever knows how big the next appropriation will be.

And there are 33 empty beds.

The reason that the state legislators don't get excited about the cancer hospital is probably because there's no patronage involved. It has no political pressure group to yell out loud. Its only pressure group is the people—9,000 patients who can't afford to pay.

The Patients

The patients sat quietly in their clean, sunlit wards. Mostly farmers and farmers' wives and farmers' children, many had never been in a hospital of any kind before.

Good, hard-working people without much education but with their own values, their own common sense and their own superstitions, too:

"Sorry, Doc, but you can't operate on me Friday. The moon ain't right."

"Well, how about Saturday?"

"Oh, Saturday's fine, Doc."

They came to the hospital filled with fear and suspicion. They came because they had to, because the pain was too great. There are many more, though, who never come, who work their farms as long as they can and suffer until they die.

Not only did the hospital have to face the suspicion of patients, but the bitterness of Missouri doctors who fought hard against this "socialized medicine." Slowly, now, the doctors are backtracking. It's a matter of local prestige for them when they send patients to this hospital and they come back cured. Besides, these are the patients who couldn't pay anyway.

"After our patients leave us, they come back for regular checkups," beamed Dr. Ackerman, the pathologist. "They come from as far as 400 miles away because they know it helps our records as well as helping them. Then they bring us things—some cookies wrapped in newspaper or a bagful of tomatoes. It's really touching."

Gray-haired John Burnett nodded. "I sure don't know what I woulda done if they didn't take me in here. Guess it woulda cost me a fortune if I could afford to pay for it. A man told me about this hospital a while back or else I never woulda known there was such a place. Never woulda thought that people cared so much about poor folks."

A woman was stretched out getting a blood transfusion. She had once had carcinoma of the uterus, Dr. Regato said, but an operation had proved successful. The woman always came back for checkups, though. She was getting the transfusion because she suffered from chronic undernourishment.

"Lordy, I had a horror of coming here," she said. "But my doctor said I had to come. He told me that they didn't have any color line here, that they'd treat me same as the white folks. 'Course I didn't believe him. But it's true. They're treatin' me royal. Like a human being. . . ."

Between Cancer Drives

This is the Ellis Fischel State Cancer Hospital. One hundred beds, a long waiting list, not enough personnel, not enough money. But this is the point:

Missouri at least has a cancer hospital. There are 45 states that don't. What about the people there? You can't cure cancer with time. But it's so easy to put a quarter in the tin box that the movie usher passes around during the cancer drive, a quarter to clear your conscience. Because, if you haven't got the disease, who really cares about cancer?

Of Ruins—1946

Time's ruins are shapely and outlive all weather,
Though seamed the floor, broken the heroes' march,
The stones survive, body and soul together,
Gray moon resets the lost curve of an arch;
Some ancient massive hope supports these walls
Roofed by the climbing sky, neighbored by space;
Earth-tremors come at night, a column falls,
But blocks so set endure the planet's pace.
Less skillful we who raise the sudden tower
On girders seeming true, but inward bent,
Since we have shattered too much in an hour
To find again the missing element,
The costly one, betrayed by the human blast—
Man's old conviction that his work will last.

HORTENSE FLEXNER

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London Letter—Closed Shop

SOONER OR LATER it was bound to happen. Stimulated by the presence in power of a Labor government, which they pioneered, and by the moral victory involved in the repeal of the crippling Trade Disputes Act earlier this year, British trade unions, now at a peak membership of over seven million, are beginning to exact the pay-off.

Britain has been free of serious industrial unrest ever since Labor's advent to office, freer, many people think, than it would have been if the Tories had romped back in July, 1945. Absence of any really widespread strike wave has accelerated the reconversion program and permitted the all-important export drive to gain full impetus.

In the past few weeks it has become evident that the unions intend to press home their present advantage. Spearhead of the current trend toward the closed shop is the huge Transport and General Workers' Union, from whose secretaryship Ernest Bevin was graduated to his present high office. The TGWU is the biggest single union in the country, with a dues-paying membership of 1.2 million, including 200,000 women. Within its capacious fold it musters dockers, road-transport workers and a host of specialized tradesmen. Its reserve funds gross $16 million and its income for 1945 was nearly $6 million.

THE CLOSED SHOP MAKES HEADWAY

In widely separated sectors of the industrial front the TGWU has been testing its strength. In the great London meat market at Smithfield its members are fighting for the closed shop. The London Passenger Transport Board, the public corporation which operates subways, buses and street cars in the metropolitan area, has accepted the closed shop and has dismissed members of a small rebel union. On the other hand, Liverpool dockers are showing signs of unrest at what they consider the remoteness of union leadership from their own problems and are talking of escaping from the embrace of the "octopus." It was these dockers who last year "unofficially" tied up most of Britain's shipping by a walkout in the major ports. And in aviation, the professional Aeronautical Engineers' Association is preparing to fight for its jealously guarded privileges in the new government airways corporations against encroachments by the TGWU.

For once the Liberal Party and, far more important, the Liberal press (*News Chronicle* and Manchester *Guardian*) are united with the Tories in decrying the closed-shop movement, and the big anti-government dailies are sounding the tocsin in defense of "liberty."

The issues go far deeper than the surface quarrels of big and little unions. But whether they really affect the rights and liberties of the individual citizen is problematical. In a sense the fight has already been fought and won, for in a wide range of industries membership in a union is a prerequisite to employment and British owners and managers would be the first to concede the stability and smoothness which derive from long-established principles of collective bargaining. No one wants reconversion jeopardized by the competing claims of rival unions.

The alarm of the Right at the advance of the unions is matched by that of the Left over an apparent change of mind by the government on the nationalization of the iron and steel industry. Unlike the coal owners, the magnates of Steel House have been playing hard to get, and have refused their coöperation to the government in drawing up plans for state operation of the industry. In some cases by holding up development plans, steel corporations, alleging "uncertainty about the future," have come pretty close to what has been described as "industrial sabotage." The new Control Board which has been announced by Supply Minister John Wilmot appears somewhat denatured and is unlikely to concern itself with the major question of nationalization of the industry, which may be removed from the parliamentary agenda next session.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET?

As the parliamentary recess nears its end, there is increasing talk here of an impending reshuffle of the cabinet. Lawson, the War Minister, has been ill, and his continuation in office has been criticized. Lord Stansgate at the Air Ministry is another who may be on the way out. Of the major cabinet ministers, Cripps, who has had the double burden of the Board of Trade and the successful mission to India, may seek to be relieved of departmental duties. Alexander, another member of the Indian delegation, has been performing duties at the Paris conference which range far beyond the scope of a service minister. He is a member of the influential coöperative movement, and may be slated for higher things. Bevin's recovery has simplified the position in the Foreign Office, but if Noel-Baker goes to a departmental post, Hector McNeil, a rising young man, may succeed him as Minister of State.

The sickness rate among ministers has been alarmingly high. Ellen Wilkinson, Aneurin Bevan and Cripps have been ill. There are many here who think the government needs a new infusion of youthful energy. Some ministers have lost sight of the socialist wood for the administrative trees, and the cares of office have obscured the wider dream of a new Britain. The coming winter is not likely to be easy for most people. They will need a morale builder to compensate for the difficulties of food, clothing and shelter. So far the government hasn't found its pied piper.

A ROSE IS A ROSE

Yet when all is said and done, the Tories, too, are unable to find a magician. It's a bad sign when defeated parties talk about changing their names (as though they had acquired some ill odor) instead of the policies which led to defeat. Harold Macmillan, who occupies a seat on the Conservative front bench, is promoting the "New Democratic Party" as a substitute for Unionist, Conservative, Tory, Constitutionalist, Municipal Reform, Ratepayers' and all the other false whiskers and blue glasses which the old gang has donned at various times to delude the electorate. But the general reaction seems to be: By Any Other Name. . . .

JACK WINOCOUR

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Journey into the Night

"THE BIG SLEEP" is an unsentimental, surrealist excitement in which most of the men in Hollywood's underworld are murdered and most of the women go for an honest but not unwilling private sleuth (Humphrey Bogart). Coinciding with the special prominence of the private detective in Hollywood movies, he has been tagged with the special name of "shamus." Lest there be friction between thieves and shamuses, script-writers have been equally thoughtful about holdup artists, so that their black deeds have been Disneyfied with the name "caper." The plot of "The Big Sleep," which winds as crazily as a Greenwich Village street and involves so many secondary crimes and criminals that figuring it out makes you faint, starts with the underpaid shamus signing up to stop the blackmailing of a tough millionaire's depraved, thumb-sucking daughter (Ann Vickers) by a dealer in pornographic books. That night two people you and the detective haven't seen before are murdered before they get a chance to show their faces on the screen and a six-year-old unsolved disappearance of an Irish patriot is brought to your already hysterical attention. The rest of the movie puts Bogart through some dozen more exotic and brutal situations until at the end, with unusually refreshing self-effacement, he admits he can tell the police just about all that happened.

There is a fantastic quality about all this excitement due to the apparent lack of integration between crimes, the sudden appearances of bizarre underworld figures and their more sudden, startling disappearances into the murky environment. It all has the feeling of an opium smoker's fantasy, and, incidentally, there's some of that in the film, too. With six murders in the plot, this nightmarish affair becomes less vital as you try to decide what motivates the people, whose chauffeur kills the inept blackmailer, who is having "the big sleep," who the perverted bookseller is—a foppish man with a mustache or a florid old man with a glass eye—what the exact relationship is between the widowed heiress and a classy gambler who operates a crime world by remote control. "The Big Sleep," though, is witty and sinister, and in an odd way is a realistic portrayal of big-city life with "Arabian Nights" overtones.

The detective's job takes him through Hollywood's underworld, which is made up of a classy crook whose cruelty is limitless, and a down-at-the-heel lot with comic faces and angelic souls. The chief impression you get of their world is that the pay is rotten, the people—especially the women—are uninhibited and no one lives to middle age. The locale is particularly seedy and pressed in on all sides by drab concrete. Gangster movies are increasingly coming to be stereotypes. Although the drab, blurred city streets are good, they are too familiar to be arresting. But far more than the usual skill is shown in the way the director (Howard Hawks) handles the human element. He is particularly adept in graphically suggesting voyeurism and other forms of sexuality without running afoul of the Johnston office.

The more inspired work occurs where the exotic subject matter is woven with straight naturalism—one of the best scenes has to do with the hiring of the detective by a tough millionaire. He is an aged individual who looks like a Southern general (writer William Faulkner may have been responsible for this) and who, after a life passionately devoted to pleasure, is living in a hothouse where he grows orchids. The scene is set up in such a super-realistic way it reminds you of an old-fashioned photograph.

"The Big Sleep" would have been a more effective study of nightmarish existence had the detective been more complicated and had more curiosity been shown about his sweetheart's relation to the crime. Lauren Bacall, performing phlegmatically, creates a large empty space in the movie. Though Bogart turns in another jolting performance as well as some good comedy, his detective is a limited, dull person, who seems to have little sympathy with the sub-rosa world with which he must always be associated. A fine bit performance is turned in by Louis Jean Heydt as an incompetent crook who is fully aware of his shortcomings.

Other movies that are worth seeing are "The Strange Love of Martha Ivers," "The Killers" and "The Stranger."

MANNY FARBER

First Fruits: 1946-47

The Front Page, by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur. Royale Theatre, September 4, 1946.
A Flag Is Born, by Ben Hecht. Alvin Theatre, September 6, 1946.

SO LONG as there are new plays coming along too, revivals are a good sign in our theatre. They tend to break down one of its worst perils, which is its lack of continuity, its short memory. There seems to be excellent promise of both new plays and revivals for this season. "The Front Page" leads off.

There have, of course, been many newspaper plays, of a type more or less common to all, but "The Front Page" continues to be the most rattling entertainment, the most engaging and the liveliest theatre. After eighteen years it reappears, to capture no little of its old stride. Doubtless newspaper life was never quite as it is pictured here by Messrs. Hecht and MacArthur, and is even less so now, and thus in one sense less convincing, but that is nothing against the play as theatre. As to the acting, the present company is a big cut under the earlier one. For one thing, too, Osgood Perkins stamped the leading role so strongly with his driving pace and brittle vividness that any actor following him is at an almost unfair disadvantage. Arnold Moss—not long ago the sonorous Prospero of "The Tempest"—gives a performance that is at least competent enough. So does Lew Parker in Lee Tracy's old part.

"A Flag Is Born" is a pageant dealing with the establishment of a free Palestine, by force if necessary, whatever the British position may be. Underneath that, it deals with the sufferings of the Jewish race and the persecutions not only in the past but following to an even more desperate extent the conclusion of World War II. This is subject matter that is age-old in its tragedy and immediate in its pressure today; and it is hardly possible that any pageant, for that matter a far better one than Ben Hecht has writ-

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ten, could express it to any worthy extent, much less adequately. Apart from its author's gifts, the pageant form does not lend itself readily as a likely vehicle of ideas. Only generations of ritual and repeated ceremonies, creative patterns and the racial genius of the years—either that or some stupendous genius in the dramatist—could hope to evolve a result at all equal to its matter. Such a thing happened in Greece and the Greek drama, if you like, but to bring in such a comparison with the enterprise at the Alvin might easily seem but odious. We may as well say that both Hecht's contribution and the general production fall a long way short in the face of subject matter so rich and profound and human, so often full of what is urgent, beautiful and indomitable.

Meanwhile it is only just to say that this whole venture is one of sincerity and noble intention; the music that Kurt Weill has written for it is often moving and beautiful, and Paul Muni's performance of the leading role is on a fine, high plane.

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

But Molotov's cry that the Mediterranean tour is "interference" in the Greek situation is naïve. Molotov knows as well as anyone that the term "good-will cruise" is an ancient device used by state departments and foreign ministers in general to describe any peacetime movement of warships which are sent some place for a purpose. – *From an editorial in the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Mr. Wilson [Charles E. Wilson, president of GM] warned against any new attempt to establish the 30-hour week. He declared that such a development would make "a second-class nation out of our country in about five years." He attacked the annual wage as something which could be feasible in "a stabilized economy, and if you have a stabilized economy, you don't need it." – *From the New York* Times.

The Fifth Freedom

As for "racial equality," all races have a right to segregation, otherwise what sort of human beings would the Lord expect when his chosen people return to the Holy Land? – *From an editorial in the Chattanooga* News-Free Press.

Democracy in Action

The picture "Ziegfield Follies of 1946" has been censored here to cut out scenes in which Negro night-club singer Lena Horne appears, it was announced today. Emil Bernstecker, manager of a theatre chain now showing the film, said the Negro artist's singing number "might prove objectionable to some people in Knoxville." Her name has also been blacked out on all advertising posters here. – *UP dispatch from Knoxville.*

Brave New World

Jews aboard the *Four Freedoms* will be transferred to [a displaced persons' camp in] Cyprus in a Liberty ship. – *From the Washington* Daily News.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Communist Expulsions

SIR: Concerning our so-called expulsion from the Communist Party, may we request the courtesy of your letter column.

We were long opposed—since January, 1945, four months before the Duclos letter—to Browder's policy of liquidation of the party and we made public statements during this period, down to the present time, to that effect. Any attempt to link us with Browder's pro-capitalist policies is outright vilification. As to the present situation, we consider that the group within the present Communist leadership continues to be tinged with Browder's mistaken reformist policies and does not fight energetically against war in China and the Administration's foreign policy.

We expressed this disagreement through party constitutional channels, acting wholly on our own and without consultation with any person or group whatsoever. Our branch in Norwalk voted to ask us to submit a report on our analysis of the Communist position. The branch majority refused to expel us. The State Committee expelled us and the *Daily Worker* published an erroneous story with erroneous charges against us. We categorically deny factionalism and all other charges. We have appealed, as provided in the Communist constitution, and when we are heard we have every confidence that the Party National Committee will uphold the decision of the Norwalk branch not to expel.

RUTH MCKENNEY, BRUCE MINTON

Woodstock, Vt. (by telegraph)

Liberals Abroad

SIR: During the current occupation of Germany and Japan the commanders are encouraging the formation of labor unions and the participation of the enemy population in democratic parties. Under the Hatch Act federal employees are forbidden to engage in political activity, in an age when the survival of the race depends on good politics. Under a recent act of Congress they are also forbidden to belong to a labor union.

The questions which occur are: Do government employees rate as high in the scale of citizenship as Germans and Japanese? Are US political parties considered democratic? Are American unions worse than enemy unions? Add these things to the poll tax and racial discrimination when you are trying to reconcile the actual domestic with the professed foreign policy of the United States. I think that congressmen, judged by deeds, must be rated among the most influential admirers of the Soviet system.

Newburgh, N. Y. WILLIAM MCCRACKEN

From The New Republic Mail Bag

We have received notice of two literary prizes: the Atlantic Monthly novel contest, 8 Arlington Street, Boston 16, which closes January 15, 1947, and a contest sponsored by the Institute for Religious Studies, 3080 Broadway, New York 27, for manuscripts dealing with problems of group adjustment. The second contest closes October 31, 1947. The Atlantic Monthly prefers manuscripts more than 50,000 words long and offers a $10,000 prize, half of which is an advance on royalties; the Institute offers a prize of $2,500 and asks for manuscripts of between 40,000 and 70,000 words.

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Books in Review

Nehruji

NEHRU'S *The Discovery of India*[1] will inevitably be compared with his autobiography, *Toward Freedom*, to which it is, but only in part, the sequel. *Toward Freedom* is a great political document—unsurpassed in our time as a record of Indian suffering under British rule—of the growth into awareness and gradually into power of the oppressed nation, and almost unintentionally, though it is an autobiography, of the tragic and heroic life of its author. By providing Nehru with sufficient time and seclusion from the worry of an active career to write it, His Majesty's Government has acquired more merit than the building of temples and pagodas would ever bring. Perhaps because another's suffering serves his own rhetoric, the hypocritical tyrant is in a way committed to the advancement of letters: British jails have been remarkably hospitable to literature. Here is another berry, though an inferior and more bitter one, for the laurel wreath imperialism deserves to wear.

The gap in excellence between the autobiography and the present book tells of the intervening fortunes of Congress Party politics and their decline into another great disappointment at the time of Nehru's last and ninth imprisonment in 1942. *The Discovery of India* is a history, such as a man would write in jail to bring the past to bear on the present in the hope of seeing more clearly where he has failed and where he may yet prevail. It goes back to the beginnings of civilization, traces the development of Indian culture, Hinduism, Buddhism, the caste system, and deals with the various invasions, wars of conquest and shifting empires prior to the British. Account is taken, at some length, of India's accomplishments in art, literature, mathematics, architecture, the theatre, etc. But while the scope is large, and some of Nehru's historical excursions, particularly the interpretation of Buddhism, are brilliant, there is lacking a sense of definiteness, even of illustrative material. The past is not fully brought to life or really shown to play the role in the present that historical consciousness assigns to it.

Even recent history is rather pale; perhaps to avoid repeating what he has already said in *Toward Freedom*, Nehru writes of the Congress Party with a minimum of reference to the dramatic episodes of civil disobedience. A long analysis of communalism is undertaken, but again, Hindu-Moslem clashes, while profoundly understood (and the analysis of Mr. Jinnah is a withering one), are not presented in what we know to be their full light. Nehru's love and appreciation of human personality, so much in evidence in the autobiography, and qualities so rare in contemporary politics as to seem to have absolutely nothing to do with it, are somewhat withheld in this book. He gives less of himself, less of Gandhi—and who else has understood Gandhi so thoroughly or written so masterfully of him; for that matter, what man who has so clearly understood another has ever seen through himself so well? There is a turgid feeling to *The Discovery of India* which must be attributed to the great gloom and greater injustice of Nehru's wartime imprisonment. One feels the effect of further failures and breakdowns, of further vain attempts to cut through the tangle and, above all, of the party's stand, taken with clear but divided conscience, in refusing to participate in the war on any basis other than freedom. One becomes aware of a certain hopelessness implicit in the Congress Party's strategy and organization—again at the moment of opportunity the leaders and the rank and file are thrown into jail by the thousands and the movement, sworn to non-violence and unschooled in the seizure of power, is left to endure another defeat.

BUT THE greatest weakness in this book is its shift from socialism. The very word occurs less frequently. Nehru speaks of planned economy, of the need of industrializing India, of world federation or, lacking that, a federation of free Asiatic states. The edge of his earlier position is blunted and its political content, which is now only formally socialist, slips over into liberalism, to an inevitable loss in militancy. This is of course a liberalism which, unlike our own, or that of His Majesty's Government, one can trust to be anti-imperialist. But Nehru now speaks much more vaguely of economic change; the specific socialist program is gone, and what stands in its place, with all its provision for planning and federation, could fit in with practically any economy, from state socialism to our own.

Further evidence of Nehru's drift from socialism by way of liberalism is offered by his attitude toward the Soviet Union. Understandably, Asiatic countries look with interest to their huge neighbor, soon, perhaps, to play a dominant role in their lives, and are impressed by Russia's industrial accomplishments and her quick rise to power. But this interest is not always accompanied by a close attention to the facts of Russian political life. Nehru says, in so many words, "Of course, I don't approve of many of the things that are happening in the USSR." But his outrage at political oppression, which he expresses so strongly where his own country is concerned, is mild and formal when it comes to Russia. There is, moreover, no such thing in his attitude as an evaluation of Russian, or world, politics from a distinctively socialist point of view. In general, the cause of this shift from socialism in an Indian nationalist may well be a kind of "deproletarianization" in political outlook which, drawing away from a perspective of class struggle to which it was never profoundly committed, accommodates itself to thinking in terms of the formal structure of states and forgets to break down political structures into the interest and suffering of the classes involved. India, one may add, is now the sixth largest industrial country, with an enormous capacity for expansion—a measure of how far Nehru's socialism, working from within an essen-

[1]The Discovery of India, by Jawaharlal Nehru. New York: The John Day Company. 595 pages. $5.

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tially middle-class nationalist movement, has lagged behind economic developments that should be its greatest impetus and first concern.

Nevertheless, with all of these criticisms and reservations, one must bring to an account of Nehru an awareness of his unique position in present politics, because of which the Indians call him Nehruji. (The syllable "ji" is suffixed in respect and not in endearment. Should we ever adopt it in the West, the political figures to whom we should have to apply it—such a sorry and pathetic, but on the whole, in a homely way, such a charming lot—would no doubt force us to invert the rule.) He has identified himself with —and represents to the imagination of all who see India as more than a back pocket of international politics—a course of rationalism, preëminently Western, and a hope in the eventual fulfilment of its promise to the world. There is already something more Western than the West about him; he has not been touched by our current of pessimism concerning science and the rationalization of life. To many of us, his rational optimism is either a last outpost or an anachronism. To the East, however, it is a new beginning, restoring impulse to old cultures and reissuing a sense of human dignity. Nehru's role has had to face the extreme test of injustice, imprisonment, famine, death of near ones, opposition of his own dear, exasperating Gandhi, constant drain on patience and nerve. These tests it has met triumphantly, in a way that is open only to rare men, to triumph in the face of many defeats. I like to think of him as one of our very few embodiments of Man in politics, a politics that is still human and, precisely in its human sense, dramatic, having to do with the whole outcome of our living on earth.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Fast and Loose

The American: A Middle Western Legend, by Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 337 pages. $3.

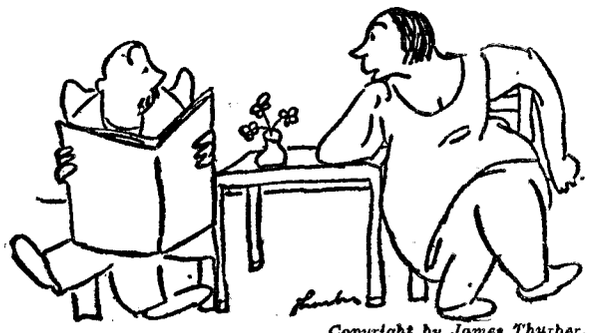
JOHN PETER ALTGELD, the outstanding Jeffersonian democrat of the 1890's and the most maligned man of his day, is gradually but surely entering into the niche that is rightfully his. Brand Whitlock, Clarence Darrow, Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters, his two biographers, recent journalists and historians—all have been inspired by his stubborn insistence on doing what he believed was right and have written about him with sympathy and enthusiasm. Howard Fast's *The American* is the latest effort to place the progressive Illinois Governor in the forefront of great Americans. Being a gifted writer, Fast has suffused his fictionalized portrayal with the passion and persuasiveness of the effective story-teller. His Altgeld and the lesser characters have a convincing reality; his idealization of Albert Parsons turns the unjustly hanged anarchist into a legendary folk hero; his narrative of the Haymarket case glows with intense indignation; his account of the 1896 campaign becomes the story of a genuine people's revolt crushed by the threats and tricks of big business and its political hangers-on.

Because *The American* has definite narrative merit and because adoption by the Literary Guild assures it a wide circulation, it is all the more regrettable that Fast failed to take full advantage of his material. Readers of his novel who are unfamiliar with Altgeld's career—and that means nearly all of them—will get a favorable but one-sided impression of the great liberal. Although a novelist, in writing about a historical figure, has a legitimate right to maneuver facts and events for their greater effectiveness, he does so at the risk of distortion. By blithely skipping fifteen formative years near the beginning and another six significant years elsewhere, and covering the gaps with thin layers of background, Fast fails to make clear how the penniless and uncouth youth became a successful businessman and politician while keeping faith with his Jeffersonian ideals. Altgeld's discomfiture of the Grover Cleveland Democrats in 1896, although described with the sureness and sympathy of the effective writer, likewise lacks proper motivation because Fast merely refers to the crucial controversy between the incensed Governor and the obtuse President over the presence of federal troops in Illinois during the Pullman strike two years previously. Even more reprehensible is Fast's complete neglect of the pioneering program of social legislation which Altgeld succeeded in forcing upon a graft-ridden and recalcitrant legislature. These humane laws, among the first to be enacted in this country, are of basic importance to any evaluation of Altgeld's place in the history of American liberalism; to ignore them in a full-length portrayal of the original New Dealer is to fail to convey the full worth of the man.

One might also take issue with Fast on numerous lesser matters of fact and interpretation. Thus, in pardoning the three Haymarket anarchists at the behest of thousands of prominent citizens the country over, Altgeld would not have had "the world fall about his ears" if he had not at the same time attacked Judge Gary and what he stood for with such crushing condemnation; what caused the avalanche of abuse was not the pardon but the sharp challenge to a powerful, guilt-conscious oligarchy. Again, Fast characterizes Gompers, Bryan and Debs not as they were in the 1890's but as they appear now to the extreme Left. In depicting Gompers as a narrow-minded demagogue, the Bryan of 1896 as a strutting fool and the Debs who supported and voted for Bryan as a far-visioned socialist, he writes more as the naïve propagandist than as the serious artist.

For all its vivid writing and effective characterization, *The American* is not a good novel. Fast would have produced a much better book if he had not been so inexplicably slipshod with his material.

CHARLES A. MADISON



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"What ever became of the Socialist Party?"

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Souls in Limbo

Asylum Piece, by Anna Kavan. New York: Doubleday and Company. 312 pages. $2.50.

It is a particular relief, at a time when the art of fiction seems to have fallen on such evil days, to find a writer who regards it as something more than the mere mixing of staple ingredients, like cooking. In this collection of short stories one is apt to be most impressed by the skill of Miss Kavan's devices, since the majority are told from the viewpoint of the central character, who is mentally deranged. Intelligibility had to be rescued from chaos, and a language created out of gibbering. The author has constructed a new and parallel world, rather in the manner of parable, which we would call a world of fantasy, but which her uneasy characters inhabit as the natural order. The stories are grouped in three sections which, in their sequence, suggest the cycle of a particular experience: first, the obsession, then the incarceration, and finally an adjustment or conclusion, which is usually despair.

In the early stories, a young woman, as the first-person narrator, illustrates the gradual deterioration of the personality, its dissociation from a human social order, its consequent abandoned loneliness, and the eventual re-creation of its own world of fears and sanctions as complex as the world on the other side of the mirror from which it has become detached. These stories all begin reassuringly enough with a perfectly commonplace incident like a luncheon party or the occupation of a new house. But we are wary and observe the character as anxiously as a nurse might watch her patient. Each time the snag occurs. The mind jumps the tracks. The character crosses to the shady side of the street, perhaps, and logic goes awry; a determined cheerfulness gives way to unutterable depression and fatigue. Malevolent conspiracy is evident in what were, a moment before, the happiest omens. The character is now alone, but in a peopled solitude, for she finds herself in relation to a baffling complexus of her own imaginings, which Miss Kavan represents as a Kafka-like bureaucratic authority, omnipotent and inaccessible, a mean Providence whose workings are always mysterious but never adorable.

The subject attempts to come to terms with this power, by conciliating it or by persuasion. But the mind cannot placate what is, after all, its own conscience, and reason is the cracked logic of the maniac, impossible of solution. As the character reads with painful attention the impersonal communications of the Authorities, the mind puzzles the obscurity of its own decrees. Even as it condemns itself, it protests its innocence, harping in self-pity on "all the catastrophes which have fallen on me." It is within this dualism that the stories operate: the mind-character trapped in itself, baffled, resentful, terrified, while every attempt at escape buries it deeper in its isolation.

After this impression of the feverish chaos of their inner world, we see a group of patients in a mental hospital. Inert and ineffectual, they are like sleepers whose restlessness and occasional moanings barely suggest the turmoil of their nightmares. These stories are static. The only instance of progression (which in this context means cure) is that of a young man who has been coaxed by a year's treatment from the wilds of extreme dementia to the state of simple

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idiocy in which the doctors can anticipate the patient and congratulate themselves.

In the final section, the first person singular returns. It is the original I of the early stories, but by this time she has achieved a kind of control over her situation. After dealing with the Authorities for several years, she is regarded as an expert by her acquaintances, who come to her for advice. She cannot persuade them that there are actually no rules, that the secret is that there is no secret, and like a canny maniac she has learned her way around the maze of the lunatic asylum which by now is everywhere and from which, in spite of apparent freedom, there is no longer even any question of escape.

"It is the personal nature of the experiences which is incommunicable," Miss Kavan says in one of the stories. But the incommunicable is largely the substance of these stories, for the experiences of the insane are personal in the strictest sense of the term. They are isolated from most common experience and inhabit a world of their own creation in which the faces are blank and all situation is merely the aberration of an obscure disease. So that in these fictions a poverty of fact supports a surfeit of reference which often exhausts and exasperates the attention, like the signs of a mute in a language one doesn't understand. Even where this obscurity is avoided, it is difficult to sympathize with a character whose joys and sorrows are regulated by what are, for the supposedly more balanced reader, mere fantasies. The interest is usually sustained and often acute, but it is the impersonal interest, mentioned before, of the nurse for the patient, compounded of anxiety and curiosity and occasional annoyance.

But in the best of these stories, Miss Kavan has created with poetic devices those states of mind between reality and illusion in which contradictories hold each other in a terrified embrace. This is the hell of souls lost within themselves, and she has charted the territory of loneliness they inhabit and has registered the persistent single voice that forms their silence.

JOHN FARRELLY

The Need for Social Therapy

Beyond Supply and Demand, by John S. Gambs. New York: The Columbia University Press. 105 pages. $1.60.

A BOOK like this presents a perplexing problem to the reviewer. Its language is always to the point, and sometimes rises to grace, wit or eloquence. In spite of its drab title, it concerns one of the most interesting subjects, and perhaps the most important subject, with which modern man is concerned. Physically it is so short that it can be read in an hour. Yet it is so condensed that one can hardly read it with understanding unless he is familiar not only with economic literature at least from Veblen to Mitchell and Keynes, but with Freud, the gestalt psychologists, Hegelian dialectic, the literature of scientific method and preferably much besides. This leaves little opportunity for further condensation or discussion on the part of the critic. The temptation is to avoid what seems an impossible task and be content with saying merely that Dr. Gambs's work is on a level of thinking to which few recent economic writers have attained, and that it should be read by all social scientists as well as any others who have, or can familiarize themselves with, the background required to know what he is talking about.

It may be possible, however, to convey a little more specifically a rough idea of the argument. For a long time, and now more unfortunately than ever, man has been unable to utilize the social sciences for the purpose of controlling collective behavior with anything like as much facility as that with which he has been able to employ the physical sciences for specific aims. This is notably true of economics. Though Dr. Gambs recognizes that the nature of man may have something to do with this awkwardness, he makes the tacit assumption that part of the trouble lies in the immaturity of economic science itself.

Veblen made a promising beginning in reorienting economics by introducing insights from anthropology and psychology, a new type of method and a number of fertile ideas. Those who have been influenced by Veblen—roughly called the institutional economists—have not, however, fulfilled the promise of this new approach. Instead, many of them have been drawn aside to the brilliant propositions of Keynes, which are derived from the tradition rejected by Veblen and which Veblen, if he were alive, would probably have satirized.

There are a number of good reasons for this errancy. Urgent practical problems have demanded the skill of those economists who were willing to devote their energies to improvement of the common life. Other neo-institutionalists, like Wesley Mitchell more concerned with the advancement of science, have been engaged in laborious statistical studies to discover the facts which they assumed must precede the formulation of principles and might even render generalizations irrelevant. The workers in the field have done a tidy job, but for the most part the author believes they are more artisans than scientists, while what we need most of all is appropriate and reliable theory.

He recommends a reëvaluation of Veblen's contribution and a development of it with the aid of subsequent discoveries and experience. He himself attempts a brief and tentative criticism of Veblenian theory. In spite of much that was valid, Veblen compromised his scientific influence on account of an unconscious Utopian bias. Dr. Gambs is not opposed to Utopianism, even as an aid to scientific discovery, but he holds that it should be conscious and so capable of being held in its proper place. Veblen was probably mistaken in believing that machine technology would condition the worker to value productiveness above pecuniary gain, and he was probably wrong in attributing more industrial virtue to some occupational groups in society than to others, as when he predicted that engineers and industrial workers would combine to eliminate the wastes and inefficiencies resulting from the pursuit of gain by businessmen and financiers.

Such mistakes, however, are flaws capable of being eliminated from a series of conceptions and a method of approach which on the whole are capable of bearing far more fruit than has yet been gathered. The author wants the institutionalists to carry their assumptions to a logical conclusion and develop an integrated theory. He wants them to make a much more systematic study of psychology, particularly in its bearing on economic behavior, than has so far been apparent in their work. He thinks it possible to account for known economic phenomena by a highly de-

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veloped theory based on the discoveries of modern psychiatry, with particular reference to the aggressive drive. Only when this sort of thing is accomplished shall we have the scientific foundation for social therapy on any broad scale. The subject bristles with important unanswered questions on many levels, to which scant attention has been given by serious scholars.

This brief abstract necessarily does violence to the variety of the ideas touched upon in the book, to the maturity of its imagination and the fertility of its suggestions. Though few are likely to read it, it would be strange if some of the readers were not stimulated to original and significant contributions. GEORGE SOULE

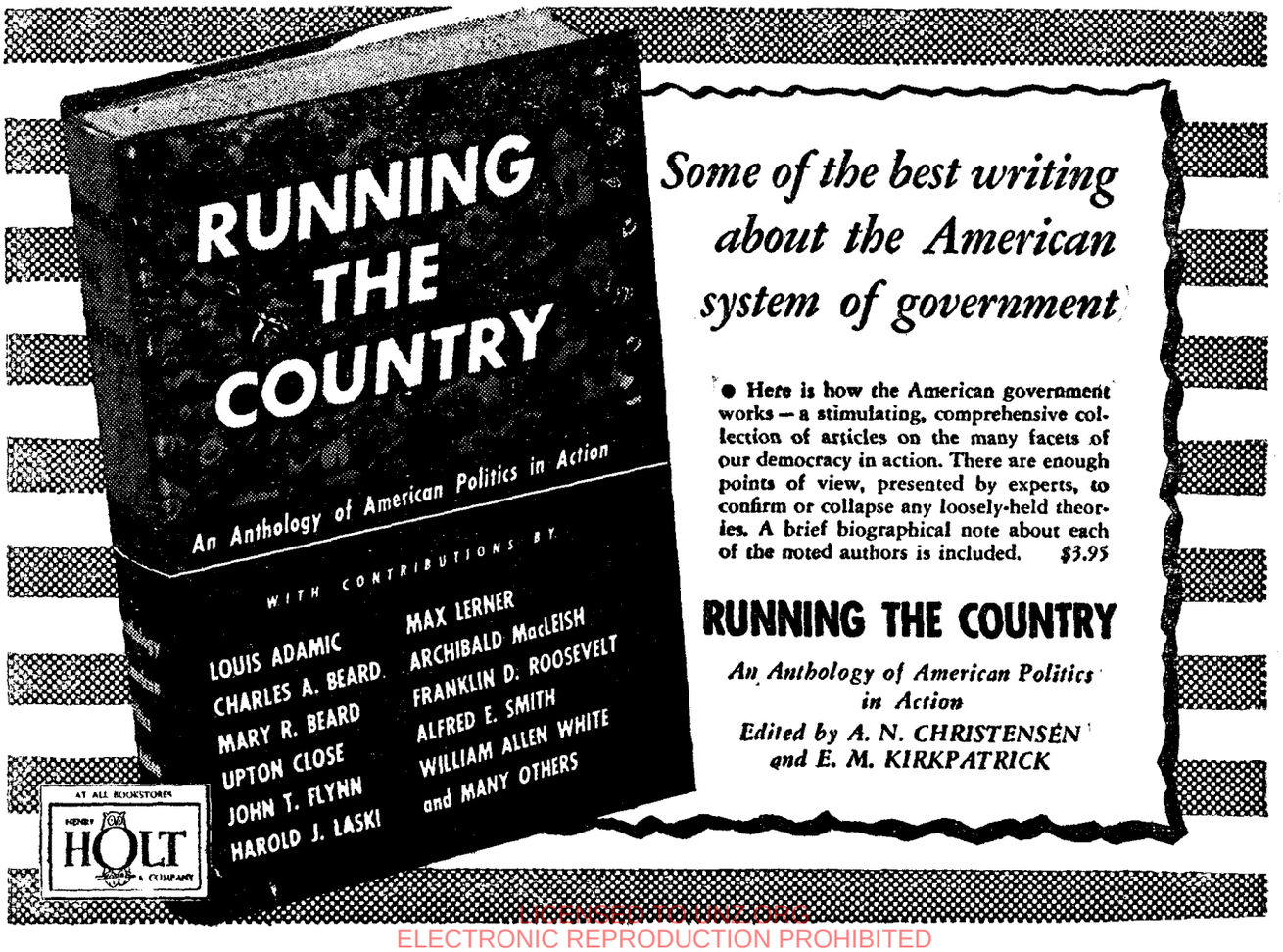
A Reader's List

The Challenge of Polio, by Roland H. Berg (Dial, $2.50). This is a well written, honest book on the crusade against infantile paralysis. Because of President Roosevelt's interest in the disease, and because it attacks and cripples children, it has aroused more public interest and attracted more funds for research than many others of greater importance. Yet it serves as a happy example of what may be done when adequate funds are available for research. As the author clearly says, the end is not yet in sight: polio is still a crippler and a killer. But through the funds administered by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, knowledge is being acquired which is steadily lessening the disease's menace. In popular terms the book describes the work done thus far—the search for an experimental animal, the studies on the source and mode of infection, the tragic use of vaccines and the orthopedic efforts to prevent paralysis and to relieve it when it occurs. There is a sober appraisal of the work of Sister Kenny and a description of a new and hopeful method of improving muscle function in some cases. The author shows a keen sense of the responsibility so necessary in those who write on medical subjects for the people, and in that sense, too, his book is a challenge.

Independent People, by Halldor Laxness (Knopf, $3). There has been a widely advertised effort by such cheer leaders of the "literary game" as the Book of the Month Club and the larger Book Supplements to conduct *Independent People* into the sanctum of "world literature." It is a simple story of a man with one idea. The man is an Icelandic sheep farmer and his idea is of personal independence, simply reduced to the anti-social instinct of a stubborn, suspicious semi-literate. He stands on his own land and says, "If I can keep my sheep alive through the winter and can pay what has been stipulated from year to year . . . then I pay what has been stipulated and I have kept my sheep alive." But he can't manage to keep his sheep alive and his family alive, too, and his wives and children and all human relations are sacrificed to his own pride with the ruthlessness of the demigod he is probably supposed to be. As long and monotonous as an Icelandic winter, *Independent People* is without the slightest innovation either of character or theme. It is to define its excellences and limit its pretensions simply to say that it is in good taste.

Crime and Punishment

Museum Piece No. 13, by Rufus King (Crime Club, $2). Lily Constable, wealthy, well bred and disarmingly honest young widow, marries Earl Rumney, widowed a year, and goes to live at his old family estate near New York. She finds his sister hostile and his son unfriendly, but what worries her most is Earl's preoccupation with his collection of twelve rooms, each a letter-perfect replica of the setting of a famous crime. Number 13, he says, is not quite finished and no one has been allowed to see it. Lily, on an analyst's advice, succeeds in getting into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the room, and from that moment her life is in danger. Top marks for this one, and for its charming and deliciously funny heroine. What a play it would make!

Murder Miscellany.—Several worth-while recent items include *The Last Straw*, by Ione Sandberg Shriber (Rinehart, $2), family hatred skillfully manipulated for the utmost in suspense; *Stranger at Home*, by George Sanders (Simon and Schuster, $2), a lively account of what happens when a California millionaire, presumed dead for four years, returns to his wife and friends; and *The Brass Ring*, by Lewis Padgett (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $2.50), a first novel and an exciting story of murder, insanity and blackmail in a smug community on the banks of the Hudson. William Roughead, the Scots amateur criminologist, is represented by *Nothing But Murder* (Sheridan House, $2.75), which is a culling of work he did way back when. Come on, Mr. Roughead, murder isn't a lost art, you know. Please get busy on some twentieth rather than seventeeth-century crimes. E. H.

New Republic News

For more than twenty years the *NR* has been printed at the Steinberg Press, formerly on Pearl Street, Manhattan, and now in Brooklyn. There, in the noisy composing room, the ideas, letters, telephone calls, telegrams and cables which make up the *NR* find their common denominator as hot lead in the Intertype machines. Day foreman Jake Groezinger, night foreman Morris Freed, along with Fred, John, Willie, Eddie and all the other Steinberg members of the *NR* family, check the forms, mount the line cuts, correct the typos, mold the plates and carry out the hundred and one jobs which go into putting an issue of the *NR* to bed.

Joe and Gus come in and go out with last-minute corrections, copy, insertions and deletions from the editorial offices. Joe is a red-hot Dodger fan, and during the Brooklyn-St. Louis series went around with a hopeful look on his face and had a tendency to drift away to the nearest radio.

Over all hang the heavy aromas of printer's ink and fresh paper. Dominant, however, is the dubious fragrance of the slaughterhouse down the street. At times it's almost enough to make the press gang hope that the meat shortage will continue until the hot weather is over.

To the Fort Worth reader who wrote to us about Russia and Texas politics, then asked in the concluding paragraph if his letter would be put into the file headed "Letters we ought to have answered before but has anybody got a good idea about what to say?" our answer is no. His letter goes into the file labeled "They forgot to sign their name and it isn't on the envelope but maybe they'll write again to give us hell for not having answered sooner."

• • •

Hortense Flexner gives a course in writing at Sarah Lawrence College. She has recently written a children's book, to be illustrated by her husband, Wyncie King, and is now working on a new book of verse.

Charles A. Madison has been college editor at Henry Holt for several years. His book, *Critics and Crusader: A Century of American Protest*, which includes a chapter on Governor Altgeld, will be published by Holt on November 25.

John Farrelly has reviewed books for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, the New York *Times Book Review* and the *New Republic*.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

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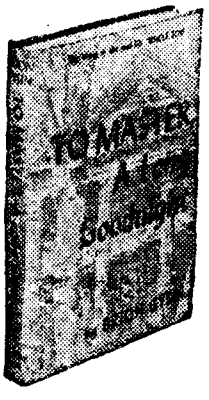

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By BRION GYSIN

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Here for the first time is the true life story of the real life "UNCLE TOM." The man Harriet Beecher Stowe used as her model for her great book was not a figment of her imagination but a slave named Josiah Henson. Unlike the fictional "Uncle Tom," Josiah Henson did not die for ole Massa but escaped from slavery to lead an interesting and full life.

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CREATIVE AGE
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Facts for
NOVEMBER

Men and Issues in the 1946 Congressional Elections

The New Republic *In two parts: Part Two* September 23, 1946

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We've made a start toward Social Security for our People with Old Age and Survivors Insurance, with Unemployment Compensation, and with Aid for Dependents and the Blind. . . .

Facts

We're so used to thinking of America as the healthiest nation in the world. But the facts tell another story:

- 7,000,000 Americans are incapacitated by sickness or accident, every day of the year, and 23,000,000 more suffer from chronic ailents or physical impairments.
- 40 percent of our selectees during the war were found unfit for military service, many with defects that could have been corrected had they been discovered and treated in time.
- 275,000 American women give birth to children in an average year, without medical aid.
- Half of the 70,000 children who die annually during the first month of their lives could be saved by better medical care.
- 40 percent of the counties in the country, with a total population of 15,000,000, have no general hospitals. Many rural communities have only one doctor for every 1,750 people, some have only one for 3,000 people, while in larger cities there is one doctor for every 650 people.
- 600,000,000 man days of work are lost annually because of sickness which strikes most heavily among the lower income groups.
- 93,000,000 Americans cannot afford adequate medical care. Legislation like the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill with its provision for National Health Insurance, would free Americans from worry over the cost of medical care, free doctors from worry over income.

Demand National Health INSURANCE

Let's Make NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE . . . . Next on the List

Only the opposition of organized medicine and reactionary business blocks the way to extending our system of Social Security to assure all of our people adequate medical care. With hundreds of thousands of dollars at their disposal these special interests are intensifying their efforts to halt progress toward this important national social gain.

The Committee for the Nation's Health, formed by men and women prominent in the field of medicine, business, labor, education, religion and the arts, is spearheading the drive to make National Health Insurance a reality before the next Presidential Election.

You can help make National Health Insurance Next on Our List of Social Gains by—

1—Joining the Committee and contributing whatever you can afford to help win the fight to make Americans free to visit the doctor of their choice, free from worry over the cost.

2—Voting in the Fall Elections only for Congressional Candidates who will support legislation like the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which will be before the next session of Congress.

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Facts for November

Men and Issues in the 1946 Congressional Elections

Looking at the Record

THIS IS THE YEAR that we fought for, and worked for; the year of the first postwar congressional election; our first chance to express, as citizens, our hope for a better world.

Brazilla Carroll Reece, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has the election all figured out.

"It's in the bag," he says; "it's all over but the shouting." He probably adds: "We're in on November 5, and on the sixth Senator Taft might just as well start packing to move into the White House in 1948."

Suppose you went to see Reece in his office; suppose you said: "How do you figure that way?"

Maybe he'd put his feet up on the desk and light a cigar. Anyhow, he'd clear his throat, suck in a lungful of wind, and begin: "Fourteen years of New Deal bureaucracy and mismanagement . . . starry-eyed idealists and long-haired professors . . . Chester Bowles . . . alliance with the Communist PAC . . ."

Suppose you cut in and said: "What are the real reasons for your optimism?"

Suppose he answered honestly. Probably he'd say: "They haven't got Franklin Roosevelt running this year. They haven't got any President running, and in a midterm year most Americans don't vote.

"When they don't vote, we win. Back in 1940, 50 million Americans voted and Roosevelt was elected. In '42, 28 million got around to voting and the Republican Party picked up 50 congressional seats. That's what's going to happen in 1946.

"Look here," Reece would say. "Here's a chart my boys have made of 100 key congressional districts. If five percent of the citizens who voted Democratic in those districts don't vote on November 5, we're in. We only need 26 more seats to become the majority party in the House of Representatives."

Suppose you said: "Maybe it works the other way, too."

"Sure it does: if the Democratic vote goes up five percent, they'll gain 50 seats and give Truman a working majority in Congress.

"But we reckon it won't."

Suppose you said: "Why not?"

"Because the bureaucratic, communistic, starry-eyed, long-haired . . . because the people still don't realize what's going on in Congress and how it shapes every part of their lives."

It does shape our lives.

This was the great year, the first postwar year. Back in January, President Truman told the Congress:

"Nineteen forty-six is our year of decision. This year we lay the foundations of our economic structure, which will have to last for generations."

It was the year of decision, all right. The President decided to propose to Congress the economic program for a better America conceived and prepared by Franklin Roosevelt. Almost all Republicans, and some Southern Democrats, took the decision to prevent that program from becoming law.

The full-employment bill was cut down. Senator Taft said that it "came directly from the Soviet constitution, the Communist platform and the CIO." Republican Senators supported, by a vote of 24 to 1, an amendment to the bill to prohibit fu-

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ture TVA's; Northern and Western Democrats opposed the amendment 21 to 1.

The unemployment-compensation bill, providing maximum compensation of $25 for 26 weeks and extending coverage of insurance to federal and maritime workers, was destroyed by Republican votes in the Senate and locked up in the House Ways and Means Committee by the committee's Republican members. Senator Taft said that it "would give left-wing labor control of employment."

The United States Employment Service, placing demobilized veterans and war workers in new jobs, was turned back to the states when federal direction was needed most. (On the Dirksen amendment to take it from federal control, the vote was 253 for and 125 against, with 166 Republicans and 75 Southern Democrats supporting it.)

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill providing for adequate medical care through health insurance has been stagnating in the Senate Labor and Education Committee with no report on it after months of deliberation. Senator Taft said that it was a "left-wing, Communist proposal."

A coalition of Republicans and Southerners in Congress made the year of decision a year of disastrous indecision in the face of immense problems of reconstruction. They accomplished these further ends:

They weakened the wartime OPA in committee and finally tore it to shreds in congressional debate. (The notorious Taft cost-increase amendment was passed in the Senate by a vote of 44-28, with 28 Republicans and 15 Southern Democrats combining to push it through.)

They delayed the Patman Act for emergency housing, and made it ineffective by permitting inflation in building materials. (The Spence motion to provide for the $400-million subsidy payments to speed veterans' housing passed in the House by the close tally of 185 to 155. One hundred and thirty-three Republicans voted against it, the remaining 22 anti's being Southern Democrats.) They tied up the long-term Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill in the House Banking and Currency Committee.

Expecting in November . . .

A Record of Reaction

They failed by one vote to override the President's veto of the anti-labor Case bill. (One hundred and forty-eight Republicans joined 83 Southern Democrats in voting for this measure.)

They could not defeat the raising of minimum wages to 65 cents an hour by itself, so passed the highly inflationary Russell farm-parity-costs amendment, knowing it would cause the veto of the entire bill. (Passed 46 to 37, with 24 Republicans and 16 Southern Democrats backing it.)

They destroyed the wartime Fair Employment Practice Commission and held the bill for a permanent commission in committee. (In the Senate the vote for a cloture rule to limit debate and prevent the filibuster against the bill was 36 against, 48 for, the motion failing for lack of the two-thirds majority. Nine Republicans and 19 Southern Democrats voted against cloture.)

They approved the appropriation in the House of an additional $75,000 for continuing the Wood-Rankin Un-American Activities Committee. (One hundred and thirty-nine Republicans voted "aye," with only three Southern Democrats against.)

With Republicans and Southern Democrats in a working majority, Congress refused in the year of decision to curb the threat of monopoly; to improve education through federal aid; to create a Missouri Valley Authority; to authorize the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway and the power project; to unify the armed forces. For months, this coalition delayed decisions necessary for the shipment of UNRRA supplies, and the creation of an atomic-energy commission under civilian control. It delayed and almost defeated the British loan.

The actions of Congress show up in our lives: the home-owners paying $70 on a mortgage each month for a house worth $4,000 before the war; the veteran waiting for a house before he can marry; the skilled Negro soldier hunting for an unskilled job; the housewife paying 40 percent more for food than she paid a year ago, have a callous group in Congress to thank, if they remember.

Suppose you told all this to Mr. Reece. "I deny it all," he'd say; but suppose he added: "What if it were true . . . the people won't remember."

That's where we don't agree. We think they will remember, *if they are told the truth*—and if they know what to do.

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If We Lose

January 3, 1947.

President Truman has just ended his address opening the Eightieth Congress of the United States. It is a Republican Congress—the first in seventeen years. On your radio, a commentator describes the scene in the Capitol:

". . . Now the President is leaving the House, escorted by Speaker Martin. Those few weak cheers you hear come from the minority side.

"The President looks pretty discouraged to me. As you know, the Congress received very, very coldly his plea for federal low-cost housing, health insurance, increased minimum wages, price control, progressive taxation and cooperation with all of the United Nations —you heard the majority applaud only once, when he spoke of our armed forces.

JESSE WOLCOTT

"There are Republicans all around me here today, and, believe me, they're really up in arms. They aren't going to take any advice from the White House on how to run the government. From now on, they're going to run it . . . that's what they're saying here, and if I were Mr. Truman, I'd wish right now that I had any other job in the USA but the one facing me today. . . ."

January 4, 1947.

The telephone lines are humming between the Capitol and the government offices. . . .

"Secretary Snyder? . . . This is Congressman Knutson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. . . . Snyder, they tell me you're sending up some proposals in the budget message for continuation of the wartime tax structure on corporate profits. Forget them—you haven't got a chance."

Another phone rings.

"Is that Wendell Berge? Congressman Taber calling. What's the idea of looking for more funds for the enforcement of the federal anti-trust laws? Don't you know we're cutting all expenditures? . . . What do you mean, you need more investigators to control monopolies? . . . Don't come to my committee with that New Deal nonsense. . . ."

January 20, 1947.

"The House Banking and Currency Committee will come to order," Committee Chairman Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.) whacks his gavel.

Ranking minority member Brent Spence (D, Ky.) asks to be recognized.

"Mr. Chairman, I think we should take up some of the unfinished business of last session. As you recall, the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill was being considered by this committee when we adjourned. Last week the bill was reintroduced and referred to this committee, so . . ."

"There is no quorum present," Wolcott interrupts. Several Republicans are absent. "And there won't be until you Democrats realize you're the minority party now. I worked hard enough last session to keep that socialistic housing bill from being reported out of this committee, and I can assure you, gentlemen, that it will never have the Chair's approval."

Wright Patman (D, Tex.), slumped in his chair, mutters: "There are three and a half million veterans doubled up with their parents, or living in tents and trailers, all waiting for action from this committee."

The gavel is whacked again. Wolcott stands up, five feet five inches tall.

"You might as well realize right now that the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill is dead. And you needn't think you can trick this committee into reporting out any OPA legislation, either. The meeting is adjourned."

All this is still a dream, the favorite day-dream of the old-guard GOP. It will come true if 26 more Republicans are elected in November.

If the Republican Party gains control of the House, Joseph Martin of Massachusetts will become Speaker.

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As Speaker, he will be one of the most powerful men in the government.

Martin, who became minority leader in 1939, shapes the day-by-day Republican legislative record. He is a bitter-end reactionary and isolationist.

Out of 46 vital issues in the last three years, he voted against progress 38 times. He has opposed almost all international-security measures, from lend-lease in 1941, and the fortification of Guam, to the reciprocal trade agreements and UNRRA. He and others mapped out the strategy to bring about the "total rejection of Wallace" for the Commerce post. He backed the tidelands-oil steal. He has led battles against stock-exchange control or regulation, the TVA, the OPA and civilian control of atomic energy.

He has a ruthless stranglehold on GOP members. They know he controls the few favors that can be granted them, such as the pick of committee assignments. And they know their chances for such favors are slight if they have wandered from the fold on any vote. Martin frequently calls the members together for a secret conference on future action in the House. At such conferences he plans the destruction of major Administration bills. He has never offered any constructive legislation as a substitute.

HAROLD KNUTSON

With Martin as Speaker, the job of majority leader would be filled by his closest supporter, Charles Halleck of Indiana. Halleck nominated Wendell Willkie in '40 and deserted him immediately after his defeat. He is the GOP's favorite orator and they leave their bitterest attacks on the Administration to him. Halleck's tirades usually take the line that the Truman Administration is "forcing the country toward communism or state socialism." He is vigorous in his attacks on labor. His pet hate: Republicans who blast the Administration but vote for its progressive legislation.

On 46 key issues during the last three years he has voted against progress 39 times.

Halleck and Leo Allen of Illinois constitute the major bloc in the all-important House Rules Committee, which has life and death power over almost all legislation. Under a Republican House, Allen would be made chairman of that committee. The committee may refuse to grant a rule to a bill, keeping it from going to the floor for a vote, as it did this session to the minimum-wage bill and the FEPC—and the bill dies when Congress adjourns. Representing a typical Midwestern Republican stronghold, a rural agricultural district, Allen coined the phrase, "New Deal farm foolery," in his attacks on Roosevelt's agricultural legislation.

On 46 vital issues in the last three years he voted against progress 34 times. He has bucked the Administration on such issues as reciprocal trade, price control and minimum wages, playing the ticket of the Farm Bureau.

If the Republicans win, Harold Knutson of Minnesota will be chairman of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee.

This 65-year-old Republican boss of Minnesota has led GOP members in their fight for tax cuts on corporations and wealthy taxpayers while opposing proposals to ease taxes on the poor. Knutson was one of the leaders favoring the original Ruml plan. As chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, he would not only control tax legislation but would also, because of their tax provisions, have authority over social-security measures. These he has consistently opposed as a member of the committee.

It would be hard to find a more complete isolationist than Knutson. During the months before Pearl Harbor, he worked feverishly against the nation's defense program, voting against the fortification of Guam, Navy expansion, lend-lease and other security bills.

No Representative is more violent about government spending—for the benefit of the people—than John Taber, ranking minority member of the Appropriations Committee, which controls the functioning of executive agencies by recommending or withholding funds for their operation. His attacks on the $2,500 expense allowance for congressmen led him into a brawl with Committee Chairman Clarence Cannon of Missouri.

As chairman of the committee, the 66-year-old New Yorker would slash government expenses without regard for public welfare. His outbreak against the National Housing Agency is an example of his attitude: "If we want to save money, we should knock off $14 million from the NHA's funds. It is about

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time Congress began to show some initiative and save money directly."

During the past two years, Taber has been author of many of the appropriation-bill riders through which the House has pared down the functions of vital government agencies such as the OPA and the OWI. On the 46 vital issues, he has voted against progress 40 times.

These are only a few of the disasters which Republican control would produce. Other House committees would, similarly, fall into reactionary hands. Seventy-year-old Clare Hoffman of Michigan would head the Committee on Executive Expenditures, which handles such vital issues as full employment and surplus property. On 46 key issues, Hoffman voted against progress 39 times.

And in the Senate . . .

There is little likelihood that the Republicans can take over the Senate in November. They would have to capture 10 of the 32 seats to be decided this year. But a shift in party control in the Senate would throw such men as Taft, Brewster, Vandenberg and Bridges into high command. After committee shifts, these right-wing Republicans would probably be placed in the following positions: Taft as chairman of the Finance Committee, where he would have power over all tax and social-security legislation; Brewster as head of the Commerce Committee, handling public works, trade and business; Vandenberg, of course, stepping into the Foreign Relations chairmanship; and Bridges holding the purse strings of the government as chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

Through their votes and their own "platform of principles," the Republican leaders have revealed no constructive action, no progressive policy. Their aim is not to do, but to undo. They are the Miniver Cheevy's of politics, longing always for the days of old—the postwar days of 1919; the good old days of "normalcy"; most of all, pre-Roosevelt days.

Now, at last, in the off-year elections of 1946, predicting a minimum of Democratic action at the polls on November 5, they see a chance to make their dream come true. As veteran politicians, however, they know that they cannot rest from their labors until they have taken full advantage of their opportunity. And so they are working now as they have never worked before. They are hoping hard, too—for the small vote that will ensure their success, and with it a prompt return for all of us to the good, old days of long ago.

Your Duty to Vote

by Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Commerce

No American worth the salt of his citizenship should need to be urged to go to the polls on Election Day. Millions of people all over the world look with admiration and longing at the United States with its firmly established principle of universal suffrage. To be sure, we do not practise it with consistency, and even here racial or financial barriers are sometimes interposed between the citizen and his vote. But even so, our situation is incomparably better than in most other lands. Three hundred thousand Americans have lately died, and a million have been wounded, in a war which, among other purposes, was fought to vindicate the principle exemplified in every free election—namely, that the state is the servant of the people, not the people the servant of the state.

Ours is a precious privilege and obligation, yet many of us do take it too lightly. In 1944 there were 88 million potential voters in the United States, but only a little more than 48 million—or 55 percent of the total—bothered to go to the polls. In 1940, the potential was 80 million, of whom less than 50 million—or 62 percent—voted.

Here, however, is the really shocking part of the story. In the congressional off-year election in 1942, only 28 million voted. About 22 million people eligible to vote that year did not fulfill their obligation of citizenship. The leaders of Republican reaction are hoping that just as many millions stay home in the off-year congressional election this year.

Why? Because the record shows that a small vote far too often is a handicap to the independent and conscientious public servant, that it favors the man who seeks public office as the tool of special interest, as against the man who puts the general welfare first. Readers of the *New Republic* well know that the size of the vote is directly connected with the quality of the holders of public office. They well know that many of the worst men in Congress—worst from the point of view of the national interest—are there because they won by a dismayingly small majority in a dismayingly small total number of votes.

I hope this will not be the story we shall need to tell ourselves again on Wednesday morning, November 6, 1946.

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The Record of the House [1]

District		Foreign: Trade agreements 1	Foreign: UNRRA Free Press amend. 2	Foreign: British Loan 3	Price and Rent Control: Plan to kill price control 4	Price and Rent Control: Amend. to kill livestock subsidies 5	Price and Rent Control: No price limit on old houses 6	Labor: Case Anti-Labor Bill 7	Labor: May-Arends Bill 8	Labor: "Anti-racketeering" Bill 9	Misc.: Atomic Energy 10	Misc.: Tidelands Oil 11	Misc.: School-lunches 12	Misc.: U. S. Employment Service 13	Misc.: Poll Tax 14	Misc.: Wood-Rankin Committee 15
ALABAMA																
Andrews	3	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Boykin	1	O	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–
Grant	2	O	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Hobbs	4	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Jarman	6	+	O	+	O	O	O	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
Manasco	7	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	–
Patrick	9	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Rains	5	+	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	O	+	O	–	–	–	+
Sparkman	8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	O	O	+	+	–	+
ARIZONA																
Harless	At L.	+	+	O	–	+	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	+	O
Murdock	At L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	+
ARKANSAS																
Cravens	4	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–
Gathings	1	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–
Harris	7	+	+	O	–	–	–	O	O	O	+	O	–	–	–	+
Hays	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	O	+	–	+
Mills	2	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Norrell	6	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Trimble	3	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	O
CALIFORNIA																
Anderson	8	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+	–	+	–
Douglas	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Doyle	18	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Elliot	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	+	+	–
Engle	2	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gearhart	9	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	O	O	+	–	+	–	+	–
Havenner	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Healy	13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hinshaw	20	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	O	O	+	+	+	+	–
Holifield	19	+	+	O	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Izac	23	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Johnson	3	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	+	O	+
King	17	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lea	1	–	O	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McDonough	15	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
Miller	6	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Outland	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Patterson	16	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Phillips	22	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
Sheppard	21	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	+
Tolan	7	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Voorhis	12	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Welch	5	O	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
COLORADO																
Chenoweth	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	O
Gillespie	1	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	+	–	O	O	+	–	+	–
Hill	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	O	+	–
Rockwell	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	–
CONNECTICUT																
Geelan	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kopplemann	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Luce	4	–	–	+	O	+	–	+	+	–	+	O	+	–	+	+
Ryter	At L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Talbot	5	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	O	–
Woodhouse	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+
DELAWARE																
Traynor	At. L.	O	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
FLORIDA																
Cannon	4	–	–	+	+	+	O	–	O	O	O	O	+	O	–	–
Hendricks	5	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	–	–	–
Peterson	1	–	+	+	O	O	–	O	–	–	+	–	O	–	–	–
Price	2	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
Rogers	6	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
Sikes	3	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O
GEORGIA																
Brown	10	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
Camp	4	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
Cox	2	+	–	O	–	O	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–
Gibson	8	+	–	O	O	O	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–
Mankin	5			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–
Pace	3	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	+	+	–	–	–
Peterson	1	+	+	O	–	+	O	–	–	–	O	O	O	–	–	–
Tarver	7	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+	–	–	–
Vinson	6	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	O	+	–	–	+
Wood	9	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+	–	–	–
IDAHO																
Dworshak	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	–
White	1	+	–	–	O	+	+	O	O	O	–	+	+	O	O	–
ILLINOIS																
Allen	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	–
Arends	17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Bishop	25	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
Chiperfield	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	–
Church	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
Clippinger	24			–	–	–	–	–	–	O						
Dawson	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+		+
Dirksen	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
Douglas	At L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	–	+	+
Gordon	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
Gorski	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	O	+
Howell	21	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
Johnson	14	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–
Kelly	3	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Link	7	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McMillen	19	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	+	+	+
Mason	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
O'Brien	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Price	22	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reed	11	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	O	–
Resa	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rowan	2	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sabath	5	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Simpson	20	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Sumner	18	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	O
Vursell	23	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
INDIANA																
Gillie	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	
Grant	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Halleck	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	O	–
Harness	5	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	O	–
Johnson	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	+	–	O	–
La Follette	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	O	+	–	O	+
Landis	7	–	O	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	O	+	–	O	–
Ludlow	11	+	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	–	O	O	+	–	+	+
Madden	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
Springer	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Wilson	9	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
IOWA																
Cunningham	5	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Dolliver	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+	O	+	–	+	–
Gwynne	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Hoeven	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	–
Jensen	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Le Compte	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
Martin	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	O	–
Talle	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
KANSAS																
Carlson	6	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	O	+	O	O	–
Cole	1	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	O	+	O	+	–
Hope	5	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	–	+	–
Rees	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	+	–	+	–
Scrivner	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Winter	3	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	O	–
KENTUCKY																
Bates	8	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Chapman	6	+	+	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	+	O	+	O	+	O
Chelf	4	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	O	+	–
Clements	2	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Gregory	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	+	+	+	+
May	7	+	O	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	+	–	+
O'Neal	3	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
Robsion	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
Spence	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+

[1] The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [–] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced, *against* progressivism are tabulated [–]; those for, or announced *for*, progressivism [+]. Those paired generally or absent are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress.

Names of Democrats are set in roman type and Republicans in italics.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, beginning on page 371.

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		Foreign			Price and Rent Control			Labor			Misc.					
		Trade agreements	UNRRA Free Press amend.	British Loan	Plan to kill price control	Amend. to kill livestock subsidies	No price limit on old houses	Case Anti-Labor Bill	May-Arends Bill	"Anti-racketeering" Bill	Atomic Energy	Tidelands Oil	School-lunches	U. S. Employment Service	Poll Tax	Wood-Rankin Committee
District		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
LOUISIANA																
Allen	8	−	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−
Brooks	4	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	O	−	O	−	O
Domengeaux	3	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hébert	1	O	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	O	−
Larcade	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	O	O	−	O	O	−
McKenzie	5	+	O	+	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
Maloney	2	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	O	O	+	O	+	−	−	−
Morrison	6	+	O	+	+	+	O	O	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
MAINE																
Fellows	3	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
Hale	1	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	O
Smith	2	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
MARYLAND																
Baldwin	2	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	O	−	+	−	O
Beall	6	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	+	−	O	−	O	−	+	−
D'Alesandro	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
Fallon	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
Roe	1	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Sasscer	5	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
MASSACHUSETTS																
Bates	6	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	+	−
Clason	2	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	O	O	−	O	+
Curley	11	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	O	O	C	+
Gifford	9	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−
Goodwin	8	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Herter	10	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	O	+	−	O	+
Heselton	1	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	O	−	+	+
Holmes	4	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Lane	7	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
McCormack	12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	+	+
Martin	14	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Philbin	3	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	O	+	−	+	−
Rogers	5	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Wigglesworth	13	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
MICHIGAN																
Blackney	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	O
Bradley	11	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	+	O
Crawford	8	−	−	O	−	−	−	O	−	−	O	O	+	−	+	O
Dingell	15	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O
Dondero	17	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	O	+	−
Engel	9	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	O	−	+	O	+	+
Hoffman	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Hook	12	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Jonkman	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Lesinski	16	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Michener	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
O'Brien	13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
Rabaut	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sadowski	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Shafer	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
Wolcott	7	−	O	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Woodruff	10	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
MINNESOTA																
Andersen	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	+	−
Andresen	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	O	−
Gallagher	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+
Hagen	9	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	−	O	+	−	O	+
Judd	5	+	−	+	−	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	O	−
Knutson	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−
O'Hara	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Pittenger	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
Starkey	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI																
Abernethy	4	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Colmer	6	+	+	O	O	O	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−
McGehee	7	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−
Rankin	1	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Whitten	2	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Whittington	3	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
Winstead	5	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	O	+	−	−	−	−	−
MISSOURI																
Arnold	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+
Bell	4	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	O	−	−	−	−
Bennett	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
Cannon	9	+	+	+	+	−	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Carnahan	8	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cochran	13	+	+	O	O	O	+	O	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Cole	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
Ploeser	12	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
Schwabe	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Short	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	O	−	O	−	−
Slaughter	5	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	+	−	O
Sullivan	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Zimmerman	10	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	O
MONTANA																
D'Ewart	2		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Mansfield	1	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA																
Buffett	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−
Curtis	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Miller	4	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−
Stefan	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
NEVADA																
Bunker	At L.	O	O	+	O	+	−	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	++	
NEW HAMPSHIRE																
Adams	2	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	O	O	−	+	−
Merrow	1	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	O	O	−	O	+
NEW JERSEY																
Auchincloss	3	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
Canfield	8	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	O	+	+
Case	6	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	O	−	+	−
Eaton	5	O	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	O	−
Hand	2	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	O	+	−	+	O	+	+
Hart	14	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	O	O	−	+	−	+	+
Hartley	10	−	O	+	+	+	−	−	+	O	−	−	+	−	+	+
Kean	12	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
Mathews	4			−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	O	+	−
Norton	13	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	O	O	O	+	+
Sundstrom	11	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	+	−
Thomas	7	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−
Towe	9	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Wolverton	1	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	O	−	O	−	−	+	+
NEW MEXICO																
Fernandez	At L.	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	++	
NEW YORK																
Andrews	42	−	−	+	−	−	O	O	−	−	O	O	−	−	+	−
Baldwin	17	+	−	+	−	+	O	+	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	−
Barry	4	+	+	−	+	+	O	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
Bennet	29	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Bloom	20	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+
Buck	16	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+
Buckley	25	+	O	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O
Butler	44	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	O
Byrne	32	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Celler	15	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Cole	39	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Delaney, Jas.	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Delaney, John	7	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Elsasser	43	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
Fuller	35	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
Gamble	28	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Gwinn	27	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Hall, E. A.	37	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	O	O	+	−	+	−
Hall, L. W.	2	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Hancock	36	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Heffernan	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kearney	31	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
Keogh	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+
Kilburn	34	−	O	−	+	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Klein	19			+	+	+	+	+			+	+				
Latham	3	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	O
Le Fevre	30	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Lynch	23	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marcantonio	18	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
O'Toole	13	+	O	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Pfeifer	8	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Powell	22	O	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Quinn	26	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rabin	24	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rayfiel	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reed	45	−	−	−	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
Roe	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	O	+	+	+
Rogers	40	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rooney	12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sharp	1	−	−	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Somers	10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+	O
Taber	38	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	+	+	+
Taylor	33	−	−	+	−	+	O	−	O	O	−	O	+	+	+	+
Torrens	21	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	O	+	+	+	+
Wadsworth	41	O	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
NORTH CAROLINA																
Barden	3	+	−	+	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	+	O	−	O
Bonner	1	+	−	+	−	−	O	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
Bulwinkle	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
Clark	7	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	O	−	+	+	+	−	−	O
Cooley	4	+	−	+	−	−	O	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
Doughton	9	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	O	−	O
Durham	6	+	−	+	−	−	O	O	−	O	+	+	+	−	−	+
Ervin	10	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
Folger	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	+	+	O	−	+
Kerr	2	+	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	O	−	−	+
Pratt	8	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
Weaver	12	+	+	+	O	O	−	−	−	−	+	O	+	−	−	+
NORTH DAKOTA																
Lemke	At L.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	O	−	−	+	−	+	+
Robertson	At L.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Foreign			Price and Rent Control			Labor			Misc.						
		Trade agreements	UNRRA Free Press amend.	British Loan	Plan to kill price control	Amend. to kill livestock subsidies	No price limit on old houses	Case Anti-Labor Bill	May-Arends Bill	"Anti-racketeering" Bill	Atomic Energy	Tidelands Oil	School-lunches	U. S. Employment Service	Poll Tax	Wood-Rankin Committee
District		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
OHIO																
Bender	At L.	O	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	O	+	–	+	–	+	+
Bolton	22	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	+
Brehm	11	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	+	–	+	O
Brown	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	+	–
Clevenger	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Crosser	21	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
Elston	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Feighan	20	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gardner	3	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Griffiths	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
Hess	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
Huber	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
Jenkins	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
Jones	4	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–
Kirwan	19	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	–	+	+
Lewis	18	–	–	–	–	+	–	O	O	O	–	–	+	–	+	–
McCowen	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
McGregor	17	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	+	+	–	O	–	+	–
Ramey	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
Smith	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	O
Thom	16	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Vorys	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+	O	–	–	+	–
Weichel	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O
OKLAHOMA																
Boren	4	O	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	O	–	O	+
Johnson	6	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	+	+	+	–
Monroney	5	+	O	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
Rizley	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	O
Schwabe	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	O	–	–	–
Stewart	8	+	+	O	–	–	–	O	–	–	O	O	–	+	O	–
Stigler	2	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	O	O	+	+	–	–
Wickersham	7	+	+	O	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	O	+	+	–	–
OREGON																
Angell	3	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
Ellsworth	4	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Norblad	1			+	–	+	+	–			–	–	+	–		
Stockman	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA																
Barret	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bradley	3	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+
Brumbaugh	22	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
Buchanan	33			+							+	+				
Campbell	29	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Corbett	30	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
Eberharter	32	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fenton	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Flood	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fulton	31	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	O
Gavin	19	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	O
Gerlach	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+
Gillette	14	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Graham	25	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
Granahan	2	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Green	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gross	21	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
Hoch	13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hoffman	23			–				–			–	–				
Kelley	27	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	–
Kinzer	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
Kunkel	18	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+
McConnell	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+
McGlinchey	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Morgan	24	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
Murphy	10	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rich	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	O	–	–
Rodgers	28	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	O	–
Sheridan	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Simpson	17	–	O	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	O	O
Tibbott	26	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
Walter	20	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wolfenden	7	–	–	O	–	–	–	O	+	–	O	O	+	–	+	–
RHODE ISLAND																
Fogarty	2	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	O
Forand	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA																
Bryson	4	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	–	–	–
Hare	3	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	O	+	–	–	–
McMillan	6	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+	+	–	–
Richards	5	+	+	+	–	+	–	O	–	–	+	O	+	–	–	–
Riley	2	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
Rivers	1	+	+	+	–	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	–	–

		Foreign			Price and Rent Control			Labor			Misc.						
		Trade agreements	UNRRA Free Press amend.	British Loan	Plan to kill price control	Amend. to kill livestock subsidies	No price limit on old houses	Case Anti-Labor Bill	May-Arends Bill	"Anti-racketeering" Bill	Atomic Energy	Tidelands Oil	School-lunches	U. S. Employment Service	Poll Tax	Wood-Rankin Committee
District		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
SOUTH DAKOTA																
Case	2	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
Mundt	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	O	–	+	–
TENNESSEE																
Cooper	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	O	O	+	–	–	–
Courtney	7	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	–	–	O	O	O	–	–	O
Davis	10	+	+	+	O	O	+	–	+	–	O	O	+	–	–	–
Earthman	5	+	–	O	+	+	+	–	–	–	O	O	+	–	O	O
Gore	4	+	+	O	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Jennings	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	O
Kefauver	3	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
Murray	8	+	+	+				–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Priest	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	O	O	+	–	+	+
Reece	1	–	+	O	O	O	–	O	O	O	O	O	+	–	O	–
TEXAS																
Beckworth	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	O	O	–	O	–	–
Combs	2	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	O	+	O	–	+	–	+
Fisher	21	–	–	–	O	O	O	–	–	–	O	–	O	O	–	–
Gossett	13	+	+	O	–	–	O	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
Johnson, L. A.	6	+	+	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
Johnson, L. B.	10	O	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	+	+	–	O
Kilday	20	–	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	–
Lanham	12	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Lyle	14	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	+
Mahon	19	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	+	–	–
Mansfield	9	+	+	O	O	O	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	+
Patman	1	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
Pickett	7	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
Poage	11	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	+
Rayburn	4															
Russell	17	+	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	–
Sumners	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O
Thomas	8	+	+	P	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
Thomason	16	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	O	+	+	+	+
West	15	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	+	–	–
Worley	18	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
UTAH																
Granger	1	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	–	+	+
Robinson	2	+	+	O	+	+	O	O	+	+	O	O	O	O	+	+
VERMONT																
Plumley	At L.	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	O	+
VIRGINIA																
Almond	6			+	–	–	–	–			+	O	–			
Bland	1	+	+	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	+
Burch	5	+	+		–	–	–		–	–			–	–	–	+
Daughton	2	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	O	O	–	–	–	–
Drewry	4	+	+	+	+	–	–						–	–	–	–
Flannagan	9	+	O	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	O	+	+	–	+
Gary	3	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	O	+	–	–	–
Robertson	7	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	–
Smith	8	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
WASHINGTON																
Coffee	6	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+	O
Delacy	1	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Holmes	4	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
Horan	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	O	–	–	+	+	+	–
Jackson	2	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O
Savage	3	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA																
Bailey	3	+	+	–	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	+
Ellis	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
Hedrick	6	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
Kee	5	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	+
Neely	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Randolph	2	–	–	+	–	–	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	–
WISCONSIN																
Biemiller	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Byrnes	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
Henry	2	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
Hull	9	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	–	+	+
Keefe	6	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	+	+	+	O	+	–	+	–
Murray	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	O	+	–	+	–
O'Konski	10	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
Smith	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
Stevenson	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	–	+	–	+	–
Wasielewski	4	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	O	+	–	+	+
WYOMING																
Barrett	At L.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–

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Explanation of House Chart

No. 1. Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act. – The purpose of this bill, debated in the House on May 26, 1945, was not only to extend the Act but to enlarge the President's bargaining power by granting him additional authority to cut or increase existing tariffs. Representative Knutson (R, Minn.) proposed that the bill be recommitted. His proposal was defeated by a vote of 181 to 212. Prior to the vote to recommit, 13 crippling amendments had been offered and rejected. There was almost solid Republican opposition to the bill. Although 34 Republicans voted for the final bill, 27 of them had voted in favor of the motion to recommit.

No. 2. UNRRA Participation Act. – An amendment, offered on November 1, 1945, was obviously intended to prevent aid to Russia and her so-called "satellites." This amendment provided that "none of the funds appropriated hereby . . . shall be furnished to or used in any country of which the controlling government interferes with or refuses full and free access to the news of any and all activities of UNRRA, by representatives of the press and radio of the United States. . . ." The amendment was passed by 188 to 168, but was later removed from the final bill as passed by both houses.

No. 3. The British Loan. – The bill to lend Great Britain $3,750 million which was sent to Congress by President Truman last January was passed by the House on July 13, 1946, by a vote of 219-155. The fight against the loan was carried on by the same isolationist diehards who opposed international-security measures in 1941. They charged that it would further the "communization" of England. Several amendments which would virtually have killed the bill were offered—Representative Dirksen (R,-Ill.) wanted to require Britain to put up collateral before credit could be extended—but none was passed. Two-thirds of the Republicans remained true to their isolationist records by voting against the bill.

No. 4. Wolcott Amendment to Kill Price Control. – The 1946 fight over price control reached the floor of the House on April 15. A series of amendments to kill or cripple the OPA were introduced by the opposition, led by Representative Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.) His amendment to require ceiling prices to reflect the cost of production plus a "reasonable" profit on every item, was passed 259-137, but was later removed from the final bill by the Senate. Representative Wright Patman (D, Tex.) charged that the Wolcott amendment would double living costs.

No. 5. Flannagan Amendment to Discontinue Livestock Subsidies. – This amendment, which would have wrecked meat control by stopping meat subsidies after June 30, 1946, was among those passed in the three-day House debate on the OPA in April. Introduced by Representative John Flannagan (D, Va.), the amendment passed the House by a vote of 214-182. It was removed when the Senate discarded the House bill and substituted its own plan.

No. 6. Amendment to Patman Housing Bill to Eliminate Ceiling Prices on Existing Houses. – After seven days of debate and consideration of dozens of amendments, the House on March 7 passed a much weakened version of the Patman emergency-housing bill. The amendment to eliminate ceiling prices on existing homes was adopted by the House Banking and Currency Committee 11-14, with 11 Republicans and 3 Democrats voting for it and 11 Democrats opposing it. On March 6, the amendment was passed by the House, 240-134. Wolcott, ranking Republican on the committee, led the fight for this amendment.

No. 7. Vote to Override the President's Veto on the Case Anti-Labor Bill. – Last February, the familiar coalition of Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans forced the NAM's labor program through the House. This vicious anti-labor bill would have rejected Truman's fact-finding proposal, outlawed mass picketing, revised or nullified the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act and the Wagner Act. On June 11, President Truman sent the bill back to the House with his veto. The opposition failed to muster the needed two-thirds majority to override, and the motion was defeated by 135-255.

No. 8. The May-Arends Rule. – This was a "gag" rule offered in connection with the vicious May-Arends anti-labor bill. The rule would have permitted amendments to the bill to be offered only by its sponsor, the Military Affairs Committee, and no member of the House could have raised any points of order against the bill or the amendments. The bill, ostensibly designed to repeal the Smith-Connally Act, also included provisions which would have prevented labor unions from making political campaign contributions, and would have destroyed collective bargaining by penalizing unions for any breaches of no-strike provisions in contracts. The "gag" rule was designed to by-pass the more tolerant Labor Committee. The rule was defeated, 182 to 200, on December 11, 1945.

No. 9. The Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill. – An amendment to the existing anti-racketeering law established in June, 1943, this bill would bring labor unions within its reach. The amendment was designed to undo the effect of what Representative Cox (D, Ga.) fantastically called "the outrageous opinion of the Supreme Court in the Teamsters' Union Case, where the Court legitimatized highway robbery when committed by a labor goon." In spite of Representative Sabath's (D, Ill.) denunciation of its anti-labor bias, the resolution was passed on December 11, 1945, by a vote of 259 to 108. The bill became law when the President signed it on July 3, 1946.

No. 10. Motion to Recommit the Atomic-Energy Bill. – The debate on the bill for civilian-government control of atomic energy (S. 1717) followed fairly strict party lines. The Republicans, favoring military control, sought to recommit the bill rather than allow passage in the form proposed. Representatives Short (R, Mo.) and Thomas (R, N. J.) led the Republican fight for the NAM plan to turn over patent regulations to private enterprise and destroy all possibility of adequate government control. The

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Republican attempt to kill the bill by recommittal was defeated when 149 Democrats were joined by 45 Republicans in a vote of 195 to 146 on July 20, 1946.

No. 11. Motion to Override the President's Veto of the Tidelands Oil Resolution.—This joint resolution, strongly supported by the oil lobby, sought to relinquish control of oil-rich tidelands to the jurisdiction of the states, and thus prevent the Supreme Court from passing on the question of federal v. state ownership. The bill passed both Houses, but was vetoed by the President. On August 2, the motion to override lost in the House by 139 to 95.

No. 12. Vote to Recommit the School-Lunch Bill.—This bill, passed by both Houses, makes federal aid for school-lunch programs, for which funds have been voted annually for 10 years, a permanent statute, assuring some seven million school children hot lunches at cost. On February 21, Representative Cliff Clevenger (R, O.) moved to recommit the bill, but the motion was defeated, 260 to 121. The bill was then passed on a roll call, 276 to 101.

No. 13. Dirksen Amendment to US Employment Service.—Given an open rule by the Rules Committee, permitting amendments from the floor, the bill to extend the USES until June 30, 1947, was called up in the House on January 28. Both organized labor and the Administration urged that the USES remain under federal operation at least during the reconversion period. When the bill was read for amendment on January 29, Dirksen moved to return the USES to the states on June 30 of this year. The Dirksen amendment passed by 254 to 125.

No. 14. Anti-Poll-Tax Bill.—On January 3, 1945, Representative Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.) reintroduced the bill to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections. When the House Judiciary Committee took no action on the bill and the Rules Committee did not bring it to the floor, a coalition committee was formed to force it out for a final vote. It was passed June 12, 1945, by a vote of 251 to 105.

No. 15. Wood-Rankin Committee on Un-American Activities.—An unprecedented parliamentary maneuver in the opening minutes of the Seventy-ninth Congress on January 3, 1945, brought up for immediate consideration the question of continuing the special committee to investigate un-American activities. Representative John Rankin's resolution created a permanent committee. House rules made the amendment the first order of business and opponents of the old Dies Committee were caught unprepared by this strategy and were unable to consolidate their forces before the matter came to a vote. The resolution was passed by 208 to 186.

The Record of the Senate [1]

	Foreign		Price and Rent Control				Labor				Misc.			
	Prohibit President reduce tariffs	Bretton Woods	Taft plan	Pepper motion	Wherry amendment	Revercomb amendment	Case Bill	Truman Labor Bill	$25 weekly jobless pay	Full Employment Bill	Farm Parity Plan	Tidelands Oil	Cloture on FEPC	Cloture on Poll Tax
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
SENATORS														
ALABAMA Hill Swift	+	+	+	+	±	O	+	−	−	+	+	±	−	−
ARIZONA Hayden *McFarland	±	‡	‡	O	±	±	‡	−	‡	‡	±	O	−	−
ARKANSAS Fulbright McClellan	‡	‡	O	O	±	±	−	−	−	‡	−	‡	−	−
CALIFORNIA Downey *Knowland	+	+	±	±	±	‡	±	±	±	‡	‡	−	‡	±
COLORADO Johnson Millikin	−	±	±	±	−	±	±	−	±	±	−	±	±	±
CONNECTICUT *Hart McMahon	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	‡	‡	‡	−
	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	±	±	±	±	±
DELAWARE Buck *Tunnell	‡	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	±	O
	±	+	+	−	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	±	±
FLORIDA *Andrews Pepper	O	±	−	−	−	‡	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
	±	O	+	+	+	‡	+	+	O	O	±	−	+	+
GEORGIA George Russell	±	‡	−	−	−	O	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−
	O	‡	O	O	−	O	−	−	±	±	−	+	−	−
IDAHO Gossett Taylor	+	+	O	O	O	O	O	O	+	+	−	O	±	−
			±	±	±	±	±	±			+	±	±	+
ILLINOIS Brooks Lucas	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	‡	‡
	+	+	+	±	+	O	−	−	+	+	+	+	‡	‡
INDIANA Capehart *Willis	−	−	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	‡	O
	O	−	O	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	‡	±
IOWA Hickenlooper Wilson	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	‡	‡
	−	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	‡	‡

[1] The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [—] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced, *against* progressivism are tabulated [—]; those for, or announced *for*, progressivism [+]. Those paired generally or absent are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

Names of Democrats are set in roman type and Republicans in italics.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, beginning on page 373.

[*] Indicates Senators whose terms will expire in January, 1947.

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	Foreign		Price and Rent Control				Misc.				Labor			
	1 Prohibit President reduce tariffs	2 Bretton Woods	3 Taft plan	4 Pepper motion	5 Wherry amendment	6 Revercomb amendment	7 Case Bill	8 Truman Labor Bill	9 $25 weekly jobless pay	10 Full Employment Bill	11 Farm Parity Plan	12 Tidelands Oil	13 Cloture on FEPC	14 Cloture on Poll Tax
SENATORS														
KANSAS														
Capper	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
Reed	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
KENTUCKY														
Barkley	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stanfill			−	0	−	−	−	−			−	−	+	0
LOUISIANA														
Ellender	+	+	+	0	0	0	−	−	−	+	+	0	−	−
Overton	+	0	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
MAINE														
**Brewster*	−	−	0	−	0	−	−	−	−	0	−	+	+	0
White	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−
MARYLAND														
*Radcliffe	+	+	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Tydings	+	+	−	−	0	0	−	−	0	−	−	0	−	0
MASSACHUSETTS														
Saltonstall	+	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	+	+	0	+	0
*Walsh	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
MICHIGAN														
Ferguson	+	+	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
**Vandenberg*	0	+	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
MINNESOTA														
Ball	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
**Shipstead*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	0
MISSISSIPPI														
*Bilbo	+	+	−	−	0	−	0	0	−	0	−	−	−	−
Eastland	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−
MISSOURI														
*Briggs	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	0	+	+
Donnell	−	−	−	0	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
MONTANA														
Murray	−	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*Wheeler	0	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	0	−	−
NEBRASKA														
**Butler*	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	+	0
Wherry	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
NEVADA														
*Carville			0	−	−	−	0	0	+	+	−	+	−	−
McCarran	0	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
NEW HAMPSHIRE														
Bridges	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	0	−	0	−	−
Tobey	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	+	0	+	+	+
NEW JERSEY														
Hawkes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0
**Smith*	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
NEW MEXICO														
*Chavez	+	+	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hatch	+	+	+	+	0	+	−	−	+	+	+	0	−	0
NEW YORK														
*Mead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wagner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA														
Bailey	+	0	0	0	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hoey	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
NORTH DAKOTA														
**Langer*	−	−	0	0	−	+	+	0	+	+	−	+	+	+
Young	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	0	−	+	−	−	−	−
OHIO														
*Huffman			+	+	+	+	−	−			+	+	+	+
Taft	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+
OKLAHOMA														
Moore	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Thomas	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
OREGON														
Cordon	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
Morse	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA														
*Guffey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Myers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND														
*Gerry	−	0	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA														
Johnston	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	0	−	−
Maybank	0	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	0	+	−	−	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA														
Bushfield	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	0	−	−
Gurney	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−
TENNESSEE														
*McKellar	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	0	+	−	+	−	−
Stewart	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	0	−	−
TEXAS														
*Connally	0	0	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
O'Daniel	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
UTAH														
*Murdock	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thomas	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+
VERMONT														
Aiken	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
**Austin*	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
VIRGINIA														
Burch			−	−	+			−			−	−	−	−
*Byrd	+	+	0	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON														
Magnuson	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*Mitchell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA														
*Kilgore	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Revercomb	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	+	−	+	+
WISCONSIN														
*La Follette	+	−	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wiley	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
WYOMING														
*O'Mahoney	−	+	0	+	−	+	+	−	0	+	+	0	−	+
Robertson	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

No. 1. Extension of Trade-Agreements Act.—This bill involved not only the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements but provision for presidential authority to reduce tariffs by an additional 50 percent. On June 19, 1945, the Senate voted on an amendment to eliminate the provision which would increase the President's power. This amendment was defeated, 33 to 47.

No. 2. Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement.—Senator Taft, together with three other Republican members of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, had issued a minority report which objected to both the Bank and the Fund provisions of the Bretton Woods Agreement. On July 18 Senator Taft moved to postpone further consideration of the bill until November 15, 1945. It was rejected by a vote of 31 to 52. Final passage came the next day, July 19, when the bill was passed by a vote of 61 to 16. Many Senators who are on record as voting for final passage of the Agreement did so only after voting for amendments which would have crippled or killed it.

No. 3. Taft Profits-Increase Amendment.—Similar to the Wolcott amendment in the House, this amendment to the price-control bill allows manufacturers price ceilings

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which reflect prices charged during October, 1941, plus "reasonable" increases. Democratic opposition declared that by raising the cost of living it would open the way for a new wave of strikes. On June 12, 1946, the amendment passed by 44 to 29.

No. 4. Pepper's Motion to Extend Price Control. – Senator Claude Pepper (D, Fla.) provided a test vote through a substitute for the committee price-control bill providing for a simple extension of the OPA to February 1, 1947. Jointly sponsored by Pepper, Glen Taylor (D,-Idaho), Sheridan Downey (D, Calif.) and Wayne Morse (R, Ore.), the substitute was defeated by 52 to 17 on June 13, 1946.

No. 5. Wherry Amendment to Remove Livestock and Poultry Ceilings. – This amendment to kill price control on meat, poultry and eggs was one of several crippling amendments offered in the Senate. Introduced by Senator Wherry (R., Neb.), the amendment was passed July 9, 1946, by a vote of 49 to 26.

No. 6. Revercomb Amendment to Remove Ceiling Prices on Existing Houses. – The Administration suffered a major defeat for the emergency-housing program when Senator Revercomb's (D, W. Va.) amendment to strike out ceiling prices on existing homes carried, 41 to 33, on April 10, 1946. Twenty-seven Republicans and 14 Democrats supported the amendment, with 26 Democrats, six Republicans and one Progressive voting against it.

No. 7. Case Anti-Labor Bill. – Spurred by the coal and railroad strikes, the Senate passed an amended version of the Labor Disputes Act of 1946 which was similar to the Case bill. The Senate bill made unions suable for contract violations, brought them under the Clayton Act's ban on secondary boycotts and tacked on the Hobbs anti-racketeering bill. Its restrictions would have watered down the Wagner Act, repealed the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act and permitted widespread suits against unions in federal courts. On May 25, 1946, the bill passed the Senate by 49 to 29, but the President's veto was sustained in the House.

No. 8. Final Passage of the President's Labor Bill. – One of the hardest blows the Administration dealt labor this session was the bill Truman sent to Congress in May during the coal and railroad strikes. Outlawing strikes in plants seized by the government, the bill provided for drafting strikers into the army, sweeping penalties against strikers and union leaders. The Senate removed the draft-strikers clause and sent the bill back to the House in amended form by a vote of 61 to 20 on May 31, 1946. The House had cooled down by that time and failed to act. The bill never became law.

No. 9. Federal Guarantee of $25 Weekly Unemployment Compensation. – This bill, which President Truman described as one to care for "the human side of reconversion," was seriously modified by the Senate Finance Committee before it came to the floor for a vote. Opposed by the NAM, the bill provided for $25 for 26 weeks and the extension of unemployment benefits to federal and maritime workers. Senator Vandenberg (R, Mich.) proposed to strike out the $25-a-week maximum payments. An amendment offered by Senator Scott Lucas (D, Ill.) calling for return of the US Employment Service to the states within 90 days after passage of the Act, was accepted over the protests of Administration supporters. Majority Leader Alben Barkley attempted to reinstate the $25-a-week federal supplement to state payments, but this was defeated by a vote of 51 to 29 on September 19, 1945.

No. 10. Hickenlooper Amendment to the Full-Employment Bill. – This was one of a flood of amendments by which the devotees of "free enterprise" sought to emasculate the Murray-Patman full-employment bill. The amendment declared that the government "should not pursue a policy of engaging in commercial activity" in competition with free enterprise or private capital. It would thus have prevented the government from continuing in numerous enterprises in which it was already engaged, including the REA, the TVA, irrigation and the operation of the Senate restaurants. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 30 to 49 on September 28, 1945.

No. 11. Farm-Parity Amendment to the Minimum Wage. – The blame for the defeat of the minimum-wage bill this session can be placed on the Russell-Pace farm-parity amendment, tacked on to it in the Senate. Despite Truman's threat to veto the bill if the farm-parity rider were included, the Senate passed it, 46 to 38, on April 4, 1946. The rider would have immediately raised the prices of wheat, corn and cotton about 33 percent. It was strongly opposed by the Secretary of Agriculture. The House Labor Committee eliminated the parity amendment, but the minimum-wage bill was never reported out of the Rules Committee.

No. 12. Tidelands Oil Bill. – The Senate openly subordinated the public interest to special interests in its approval of legislation giving away the federal government's claim to ownership of the rich submerged oil lands off the coasts. Oil-company lobbyists wanted immediate passage of the tidelands bill to prevent the Supreme Court, which is the final authority on such questions, from deciding who really owns the oil. The Senate approved the bill, 44 to 34, on July 22, 1946, but it was vetoed by the President a week later.

No. 13. FEPC-Cloture Rule. – To avoid filibusters on this bill like those made by Senators Bilbo and Eastland last year, several supporters of the Fair Employment Practice Commission sought a cloture rule, which would have limited debate. The 36-to-48 vote on cloture, on February 9, 1946, lacked the necessary two-thirds majority. As a result, the FEPC bill never came up for a vote.

No. 14. Poll-Tax-Cloture Rule. – As they did on the FEPC, liberals tried to limit debate and forestall a filibuster on the bill to remove the poll tax in federal elections in seven Southern states. With a two-thirds vote necessary, cloture was defeated, although its proponents mustered a majority, 39 to 33, on July 31, 1946.

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Poor People—Poor Houses

"POOR PEOPLE belong in the poorhouse."

Thus spoke George W. West, president of the Federal Savings and Loan Association, last June. He was appearing officially for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States before the House Committee on Expenditures of the Executive Department, opposing the President's Reorganization Plan No. 1, which called for permanent coördination of all government housing activities. When Representative Randolph (D, W. Va.) said, "You do not mean that," Mr. West replied, "If I did not, I would not be saying it."

And in this same spirit the Republicans in the House of Representatives have acted to block provision for decent, low-cost housing for our veterans and other ill housed groups. It was in this spirit that Republicans like Jesse P. Wolcott and Fred L. Crawford of Michigan cut up the Patman emergency-housing bill and then fought to keep it from passing when the Senate restored almost all the original provisions, and ganged up to keep the Wagner-Ellender-Taft permanent-housing bill bottled up in a House committee until Congress adjourned.

The permanent-housing bill (S. 1592) proposed to meet the emergency need of veterans for low-cost housing, and the long-range need for replacing 10.5 million substandard homes, by assisting in the construction of 1,250,000 homes a year for 10 years, by providing government-insured mortgages at low rates of interest, by promoting large-scale building of rental units through underwriting the yield of large capital in this field, and by building 125,000 low-rent public-housing units a year for four years. It was the first comprehensive attack upon our chronic housing shortage. It would not only have ended the shortage, but would also have formed a solid foundation for sustained prosperity. It is vital to the rental goals of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program. Support for the bill came from religious, social, civic, veterans' and labor groups everywhere. It passed the Senate, with scarcely any opposition, in April, 1946.

But the real-estate interests and builders' groups would have none of it. Frightened by the prospect of a government-sponsored building program to remove the present housing scarcity which had brought them their lushest profits in history, they embarked upon a well heeled, well organized propaganda campaign to spike the bill. They may not have bought the House Republicans, but they certainly sold them. Said the "Washington Letter" of the National Association of Home Builders, "Outstanding work was done by the

THE PARTIES AND THE ISSUES[1]

The true power of the Republocratic coalition which ruled the Seventy-ninth Congress is revealed in the chart below. The votes on eight key issues before each House in the last session clearly show that the Northern Democrats were the real source of liberal strength. Ostensibly the majority party in this session, they were in fact a liberal minority bloc held in check by the Republocrat coalition.

SENATE

Bill	Republicans +	Republicans −	Southern Democrats +	Southern Democrats −	Democrats +	Democrats −
Effort to destroy Reciprocal Trade Agreements Defeated 47–33 on 6/19/45	9	25	17	2	20	6
Effort to sidetrack Bretton Woods Agreements Defeated 52–31 on 7/18/45	8	28	19	0	25	2
Bill for adequate unemployment compensation Defeated 51–29 on 9/19/45	3	32	1	17	24	2
Prohibition against government projects such as the TVA Defeated 49–30 on 9/28/45	9	24	15	3	24	3
Farm-parity maneuver to kill minimum wage Passed 46–38 on 4/4/46	12	24	3	16	22	6
Case anti-labor bill Passed 49–29 on 5/25/46	4	32	4	12	20	5
Taft profit-increase amendment to kill the OPA Passed 44–29 on 6/12/46	3	28	4	15	21	1
Effort to give away government claim to tideland oil Passed 44–34 on 7/22/46	9	25	6	14	19	5

Note should be taken that there are exceptions to this overwhelming geographic bias among Democratic votes.

Almost all the Southerners were usually with the Administration on international issues. But only 21 Democrats of the 117 elected from the 13 Southern states consistently supported the Administration on social legislation. Loyal Administration followers, supplying votes and leadership, were such progressives as Barkley (Ky.), Pepper (Fla.) and Hill (Ala.), in the Senate, and House members Sparkman, Patrick, Rains (Ala.), Hays (Ark.), Monroney (Okla.), Davis, Gore, Kefauver, Priest (Tenn.), Patman, Thomas (Tex.), Folger (N. C.) and Flannagan (Va.). Even these, however, often bucked the party on labor issues.

HOUSE

Bill	Republicans +	Republicans −	Southern Democrats +	Southern Democrats −	Democrats +	Democrats −
Establishment of permanent Wood-Rankin Committee Passed 208–186 on 1/3/45	34	138	43	61	107	9
Effort to discontinue trade agreements Defeated 212–181 on 5/26/45	33	140	99	5	106	7
Legalizing speculation on housing prices Passed 249–134 on 3/6/46	8	162	24	76	100	11
Wolcott "cost-plus" amendment to kill price control Passed 259–137 on 4/17/46	9	171	29	74	97	14
Case anti-labor bill (Override veto) Defeated 255 (yeas), 155 (nays) 6/11/46	15	159	15	87	103	9
British Loan Passed 219–155 on 7/13/46	61	122	71	11	86	21
Effort to kill civilian control of atomic energy Defeated 196–146 on 7/20/46	45	128	62	13	87	5
Effort to override veto of tideland oil give-away Defeated 139 (yeas), 95 (nays) 8/2/46	7	104	28	27	58	8

Only 15 of the 124 Northern Democrats in the House can be said to have voted regularly against the party label they carried to get elected: Elliott, Engle and Lea (Calif.), Baldwin and Roe (Md.), Bell and Slaughter (Mo.), Philbin (Mass.), Fernandez (N. M.) and Randolph (W. Va.). And in the Senate, only four of the 23 "Northern Democrat" Senators—Tydings, Gerry, Radcliffe and McCarran—showed a strong tendency to vote with the Republicans.

[1]This chart, which divides the vote of the conservative Southern Democrats from that of other Democrats, was prepared in the office of the Union for Democratic Action. Minority-party votes have been omitted.—THE EDITORS

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Home Builders who visited Washington in delegations to lay the facts *(sic)* before their representatives." The arguments against the bill in the official organs of the National Real Estate Boards and the National Association of Home Builders were often repeated almost verbatim by House Republicans.

Delay and More Delay

In the House the bill was sent to the Banking and Currency Committee. Republican leaders admitted privately that if it got to the floor it would certainly pass. Their strategy, therefore, aimed to keep it in committee until Congress adjourned. Outside committee hearings they played a passive game, stating that the party had done its job in helping to get the bill through the Senate (although Taft went along only after S. 1592 had been watered down considerably), and that since the committee was controlled by the Democrats it was hardly necessary for Republicans to get the bill out on the floor.

Inside committee hearings they used every obstructionist tactic in the book. Hearings started on June 28 with a brief statement from Senator Wagner of New York. He was followed by Senator Taft. Scarcely had Taft opened his mouth when Representative Howard H. Buffett (R, Neb.) raised a point of order—a committee cannot sit while the House is in session. Technically Buffett was correct, but because of press of business the House has ignored this rule for more years than anyone can remember. Despite protestations by Chairman Spence that he did not recall when such a point of order had been raised, and despite arguments by the Democrats that they wished to hear Senator Taft, Representative Buffett insisted on his point of order,

Herblock in the Washington Post

"Don't Get Excited—We're Just Blowing Up the Dam"

whereupon all the Republican members of the committee (Buffett excepted!) left the room. When Chairman Spence later asked the House for the necessary unanimous consent to hold hearings while it was in session, Knutson and Miller (R, Nebr.) objected.

When hearings were resumed the next day Representative Frank L. Sundstrom (R, N. J.) immediately raised a point of order—no quorum was present. But quorums ordinarily are not required for hearings and the Democrats urged the suspension of the point of order. The point being pressed, the committee was forced to adjourn. Two days later the testimony of National Housing Administrator Wyatt was interrupted on a point of order made by Representative Frederick C. Smith (R, O.) that the House was in session. Hearings were held during the next two days. On July 5, when the Federal Home Loan Bank Commissioner was to testify, no hearings were held because of a point of order raised by Buffett.

The Fine Art of Sabotage

Despite the approach of the end of the session, no hearings were held on the permanent housing bill for some time—while the British loan was debated on the floor and while certain committee members were meeting with Senate conferees on the OPA. The clamor for action from supporters of the bill was becoming more and more insistent. President Truman urged the committee to report the bill out.

On July 24, Wyatt offered to speed the bill through committee hearings by forgoing further appearances by the National Housing Agency, and recommended that the opposition be given time, equal to or more than that given the bill's supporters, to testify. Proponents of the bill had already agreed to file statements instead of testifying. Support came from all quarters. Within four days both the New York *Times* and the New York *Herald Tribune*, hardly classified as left-wing, carried strong editorials.

But the House Republicans persisted. When the Federal Home Loan Bank Commissioner was scheduled to appear after the committee had devoted half an hour to a bill dealing with a loan to the new Philippine government, committee Republicans, notably Representatives Wolcott, Frederick C. Smith, John C. Kunkel (Pa.) and Frank L. Sundstrom, asked Assistant Secretary of State Clayton so many questions and dragged out the hearings so long that many felt their real object was to prevent the resumption of hearings on the housing bill.

The tie-up between House Republicans and the real-estate lobby was brazenly admitted when the opposition began with testimony by Arthur Binns, president of the National Home and Property Owners' Foundation. This organization, formed about a year ago, is, in Mr. Binns's words, intended to "mobilize the great middle-class property-owning group of this nation to

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INDIGNATION ALONE

won't change a Congress!

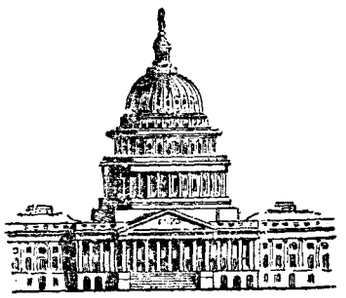
You can get mad as you like at the failure of the 79th Congress to meet the needs of the great majority of the American people.

You can burn with indignation because it has left us with insufficient housing, with sub-standard minimum wages, without strong price control, without an FEPC or an anti-poll tax or an anti-lynching bill.

But unless your indignation boils over into *action*, the voices of reaction will prevail in the 80th Congress and the forward march of social progress will come to a dead halt.

There are two things everyone who regards himself as a liberal *must* do between now and November:

First, register and vote. Get your neighbors to register and vote. Join a group that's working actively to turn out the vote and pool your time and efforts with the hundreds of thousands like yourself who want a more progressive Congress.



Congress is what YOU make it!

Second, and equally important, give the progressive candidates *financial* support as well.

National Citizens PAC will be in the fight to the hilt, backing those candidates who are pledged to enact into reality the Roosevelt program. We will be working, *as intensively as funds permit,* to mobilize millions of voters behind these progressive candidates. *But successful political campaigning requires money.* Radio time, letters, campaign literature, posters, leaflets—all these cost money.

National Citizens PAC will make that needed money available to the people's candidates. *But that money must come from you.* We have no large corporations to turn to.

Political action is costly—but political *inaction* is far more costly. Without political action to secure a progressive Congress, the insane drift toward another war will go unchecked, the deadly spiral of inflation will continue, the voices of race hatred and discrimination will gather in volume—and the Roosevelt program will remain an unrealized ideal.

Make your contribution *now.* It will be put right to work.

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Here's my contribution to help make the 80th Congress a progressive Congress. Enclosed is $.....

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Street.....

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prevent the liquidation of the fruits of the ownership of private enterprise by such bills as this."

Mr. Binns testified that the organization has a staff of 30 people in Washington, and 32 state offices in which they have full-time, paid directors with organized staffs, and that it had already raised a quarter of a million dollars.

A portion of the testimony reads thus:

REP. SMITH: I just want to say that it so happens that I had a hand in helping to form this organization.

MR. BINNS: Dr. Smith did.

REP. SMITH: It is 100-percent American. I wish every organization could say as much for itself.

MR. PATMAN: Your definition of 100-percent Americanism does not always coincide with mine.

REP. SMITH: I just want to say on my own behalf that this organization was formed solely for the protection of private-property rights. That is the base.

MR. BINNS: The only reason.

REP. SMITH: That is the whole proposition.

The following weekend was a hectic one for the bill's supporters. By July 30, they had made sure that a quorum would be present when the committee convened. Chairman Spence had indicated that he would take a vote to bring the bill out on the floor. An unofficial poll was taken. By a vote of 12-10 it was decided to keep the bill in committee. There it died. Although it was not a record vote, best information shows that this was the line-up of the Republican members:

Wolcott (Mich.)	Against
Sumner (Ill.)	Against
Smith (O.)	Against
Kunkel (Pa.)	Against
Buffett (Neb.)	Against
Talle (Iowa)	Against
Kilburn (N. Y.)	Not Present
Sundstrom (N. J.)	Against
Crawford (Mich.)	Not Present
Gamble (N. Y.)	For

Only one Republican had voted for S. 1592. The others voted to keep poor people in poor houses.

The only way to get the housing the people need at prices they can afford is to pass the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill when the next Congress meets. It is folly to hope that the Republicans will change their stand. The powerful real-estate and builders' lobby is ready to pour its money and power into the fight; the National Association of Home Builders stated on August 1, ". . . the bill is dead for the time being; it will not stay dead. . . . A battle has been won, but the war continues."

There is one way to make the bill law—by getting rid of the Smiths and Buffetts and Crawfords in the House and replacing them with Democrats in November.

Cast: A liberal Senator and a reporter who covered the price-control fight and now has been assigned to write a piece on who was who in it. He has explained to the Senator that the idea is to let the voters know who wrecked price control and who tried to save it, since the roll calls on the bill do not give a clear picture of what happened and why.

SENATOR: Sure, I watched from the inside while they wrecked the OPA, and I don't mind talking about it. In fact, I'm glad to. The people ought to know who did the job. Go ahead and ask me whatever you want to know.

REPORTER: Who would you say got in most of the dirty work in the Senate?

SENATOR: That's easy. You can start with the Republicans—Taft (O.), Wherry (Nebr.), Millikin (Colo.), Capehart (Ind.), Buck (Del.), Moore (Okla.), Hickenlooper (Ia.), Hawkes (N. J.), Reed (Kan.), Robertson (Wyo.), Wiley (Wis.), Brooks (Ill.), Bridges (N. H.)—I suppose they're the principal boys, but when you come down to it, practically all the Republicans went along on the showdowns against the OPA, except Aiken (Vt.) and Morse (Ore.). That made it about 37 to 2.

REPORTER: The Republicans got help from some of the Democrats.

SENATOR: Hell, yes. Plenty from some of them. You can't beat the monkey-wrenching of McFarland (Ariz.), Carville (Nev.), Elmer Thomas (Okla.),

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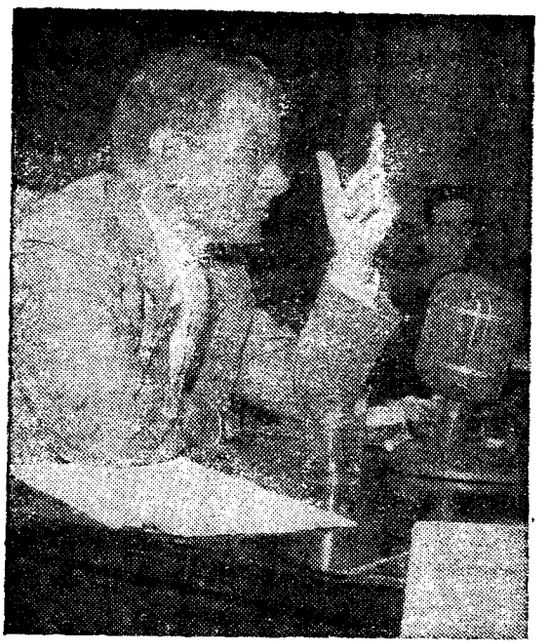

HILLMAN STILL SPEAKS!

"WE WANT a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty. We want to have an America where the inventions of science will be at the disposal of every American family, not merely for the few who can afford them; an America that will have no sense of insecurity and which will make it possible for all the groups, regardless of race, creed or color, to live in friendship, to be real neighbors; an America that will carry its great mission of helping other countries to help themselves, thinking not in terms of exploitation, but of creating plenty abroad so we can all enjoy it here in America.

. . . . . .

"LET us all take our obligations seriously in this year of political decision. Let us make sure that we give ourselves to it. Make sure that nothing is left undone.

"We represent the needs and the aspirations of the good men and women of our country, and they are the overwhelming majority. We can only be defeated when there is confusion, when there is lack of understanding and lack of interest; and that is why the opposition is ready to start a campaign that has only one purpose, to spread confusion.

"We recall our successes in 1944. I know we can meet the challenge even better in 1946 if you and other Americans will do what is required of you as good citizens."

(Excerpts from the closing address made by Sidney Hillman to delegates of the National Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America at Atlantic City, May, 1946.)

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O'Daniel (Tex.), Radcliffe (Md.), George (Ga.), Eastland (Miss.), Maybank (S. C.), McClellan (Ark.). And I'd put in Fulbright (Ark.).

The Roll of Honor

On the other hand, you would have had nothing if it had not been for another group of Democrats. Some of them put up a fight for which the American people may some day be very grateful.

Reporter: Who? I wish you would name them.

Senator: Wagner (N. Y.), Pepper (Fla.), Mead (N. Y.), Mitchell (Wash.), Taylor (Idaho), Myers (Pa.), Kilgore (W. Va.), Murray (Mont.), Huffman (O.), Lucas (Ill.), Guffey (Pa.), Hill (Ala.), McMahon (Conn.), Magnuson (Wash.), Murdock (Utah), Tunnell (Del.), Thomas (Utah) and Briggs (Mo.). And I'll put Barkley (majority leader, Ky.) in a special class. Alben did some compromising here and there, but he carried the main burden of the fight and did it magnificently. He got a couple of things through just because some of the boys wouldn't let him down too hard. I marveled at his good humor, too. It helped.

Reporter: Of course, if you look at the final roll calls, the Senate was full of OPA friends. Wasn't the vote on final passage 53 to 26?

Senator: That's right. I hear some of my distinguished colleagues are making good use of those roll calls in their campaigning. Telling the folks back home how they voted for the OPA. They did—after the bill was shot so full of holes that all but the most rabid OPA haters could take it without strain.

Those of us who wanted a good bill were in that "aye" list too. The bill was weak, maybe disastrously so, but it was that or nothing. I know I took it. Pepper was the only one of the OPA friends who voted against it in the end. He did it on principle.

Reporter: That's the kind of thing I want to get—what lay behind some of those votes. Let's go into the records of some of the others who voted for the bill on that dizzy last night. (The session ran until after midnight on July 24.)

Senator: I started off with Taft before, and I'll begin with him again. He voted for price control on final passage. As a matter of fact, Bob regards himself as a moderate on this matter. Compared to somebody like Moore, who hates the guts of the OPA, maybe he is. He also thinks there should be some control, or we'd face a runaway inflation. The catch is in his interpretation of "some."

Reporter: The President thought Taft's kind of price control would be worse than none at all. I remember how he tore into Taft in his veto message.

Senator: In my opinion the President was right. Look what the Taft amendment would have done. As it stood originally, it would have given every manufacturer his current costs plus a profit on every single thing he made at the inflationary profit level of 1941. No industry ever had that in its palmiest days. With that arrangement you'd be on a non-stop elevator. The first month, the washing-machine industry, for example, would be asking for a higher price. So would everyone else. The next month they'd be back for another boost because the price had gone up on their motors, castings and whatnot. There'd be no stop. One man's price is another man's cost.

And you can imagine how the OPA would have bogged down trying to figure out costs plus 1941 profits on millions of items. Nobody keeps figures like that. Nope, the Taft amendment unadulterated would have been worse than no price control.

Taft and Wherry

Reporter: It was pretty watered down in the end.

Senator: Yes, but it took a veto and a couple of months of battling, and in the process the OPA was seriously crippled. Bob's the toughest fighter in the Senate to go up against. He's got brains in that bald head of his, and also most of the figures he carries around in that trunk-size briefcase. What's more, he swings a lot of the boys on his side of the aisle.

Reporter: I remember one night, though, when some of us from the press gallery went down to the floor to talk to Wherry. He was boiling because the President and the newspapers had concentrated most of their attention on Taft.

"Taft, Taft!" he snorted. "All anybody talks about around here is Taft. What'd he ever do to this bill, except get his ol' amendment knocked out. I'm the boy that really did things to that OPA bill."

I'm not sure but what Wherry was right. In the end he probably did more damage than Taft, or as much anyhow.

Senator: I'm inclined to agree. Wherry got in his amendment giving retailers higher profits, when they're already making more than ever before. Of course, it was softened, but it still eliminates any cost absorption after March 31.

But Wherry's biggest job was on meat and dairy products. He put through the amendments barring any further price control on either.

Speaking of Wherry and Taft, were you in the gallery the night Wherry ripped into Taft for "letting" the Senate-House conference committee change those amendments? Wherry thought the conferees had robbed him when they provided that controls should go back on August 20 unless the Decontrol Board ruled otherwise.

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2. ***Should every person who works be assured a decent minimum standard of living?***
3. ***Are these gains worth the sacrifice of political and personal freedom?***
4. ***Can they be achieved* without *dictatorial government?***
5. ***Should the United States "share the secret" of the atomic bomb in the interest of world peace?***
6. ***Which is preferable: a Europe dominated by the Soviet Union or a Europe dominated by neo-fascism?***
7. ***Can an effective social program be achieved only by a national third party?***

See the Answers in the box below. If you are right on six out of the seven, you deserve the kind of government that is represented *only* by the

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The Answers

1. Yes—not a dole, but a job. If private enterprise doesn't provide enough jobs, public enterprise must.

2. Yes, as a matter of justice to the worker, peace to the community, and just plain good business.

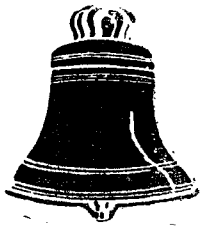
3. No. In fact, there is no real security, economic or any other kind, where a man's living depends on the whim of a dictator.

4. Certainly. Planning, democratically controlled, constitutionally administered, and resting on the basic freedoms of speech, press, and petition—is social democracy, not dictatorship—whatever Senator Taft may say.

5. Yes, but only with an international organization that is really international; not with an agency that can be dominated by the veto of a single power. And only if all countries are open to inspection.

6. The choice is false and must not be made, however much the Communists would like to force it. Give Europe a healthy economic program, favor its progressives over its fascist and feudal left-overs, and a vigorous social-democratic continent will emerge.

7. In the fullest sense, yes. But a national third party requires a united labor movement. In the meantime, a statewide independent party can perform two vital functions—force immediate gains from the old-time parties; and pave the way for a national liberal party.



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REPORTER: That was a brawl. Gee, Wherry was sore. He accused Taft of double-crossing him by not working harder for meat decontrol. (Wherry was not on the conference committee.) There was one gem in there. Got the *Congressional Record*? Find the July 24 issue. Yes, here it is. Listen to what Wherry said about the conferees: "It is significant to note that the Senator from Kentucky [Barkley] got tobacco decontrolled, that the Senator from Maryland [Radcliffe] got poultry decontrolled, that the Senator from Ohio [Taft] did succeed in getting somebody's version of the Taft amendment written into the bill. And the cotton boys were untouched."

THE MEAT-DECONTROL FARCE

SENATOR: You can't accuse the meat crowd of not trying. Carville, McFarland and Hickenlooper carried the ball for them in the Banking and Currency Committee. And on the floor at one time, Wherry had so many coming up to attach their names to his decontrol amendment that Barkley said the Senate was going to look like a Billy Sunday sawdust trail. Fourteen signed that amendment. Give me the *Record*. Here they are: Carville, Ball (R, Minn.), Bridges, Brooks (R, Ill.), Buck, Capehart, Capper (R, Kan.), Moore, Wilson (R, Ia.), Willis (R, Ind.), Donnell (R, Mo.), Gurney (R, S. D.) and Robertson (R, Wyo.)

The meat boys were supplied with all the material they could use, and were kept firmly in line by the American Meat Institute and Judge Joseph L. Montague, counsel for the Southwest Cattle Raisers' Association. The industry helped them further by holding meat back in order to create a shortage, and by having a survey made that was supposed to show that 80 percent of meat was in the black market. Of course, that was absurd.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Democracy at Work at Home

THE COTTON BOYS COME THROUGH

REPORTER: The meat-livestock bloc is almost impossible to beat in the Senate. I suppose it is rivaled only by the cotton outfit.

SENATOR: Rivaled is hardly the word. The cotton boys, on the OPA, ran rings around the meat interests, the NAM and all the rest of them. They were the only crowd that came out with everything they set out to get. Do you realize that the whole group of cotton-textile amendments went into the bill in the House Banking and Currency Committee, and that they rode through the House, the Senate, the conference committees and the White House without a single change to which the cotton boys objected? That's legislative performance!

REPORTER: How did they do it?

SENATOR: The Administration had to have their votes. With the Republicans voting almost solidly against everything, the only hope was to keep the votes of some of the cotton Democrats. If you had threatened to take away any of their cotton candy they would have voted against everything.

REPORTER: The death of Senator Bankhead (Ala.) in the middle of the fight didn't seem to alter the picture.

SENATOR: No, that just made those amendments more sacred. The others took over. Eastland, Fulbright, McFarland, McClellan, George Russell (Ga.), Maybank, Swift (Ala.) and the others did whatever was necessary.

REPORTER: I notice the price of cotton has been zooming ever since they got through the amendment barring the margin requirements Bowles had set up to control speculation.

SENATOR: It's booming all over the place. And under another of the cotton amendments, the OPA is forced to pass along all of the increase in the form of higher textile and clothing prices. Clothing prices already are going up six to eight percent, and household linens about 17 percent, and that's just the beginning. A higher profit base for the mills also went into those increases, as another amendment required. Incidentally, those amendments exempted cotton warehouses and compressors from price ceilings.

REPORTER: There is a lot of talk that some of the cotton Senators were in the market themselves, doing a little speculating.

SENATOR: Well, Drew Pearson published some of those charges in his column, and I haven't heard anybody denying them. Mrs. Elmer Thomas had an account in the New York firm of Harriss and Vose. On three separate occasions the firm bought heavily just before some speeches by Thomas and some other cotton Senators sent the market up, and it was even more

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remarkable that the firm got out every time before some other Washington maneuverings sent the price down. Of course, there's nothing illegal in this.

REPORTER: I've heard that Harriss is a close friend of Thomas and often in the Senator's office.

SENATOR: So I've noticed. Thomas' office must be pretty full. Ralph Moore, lobbyist for some rye and cattle interests, and Dyke Cullum, the legislative representative of another group of grain interests, are often seen there. I suppose they didn't exactly object to the amendment Thomas put into the OPA bill—exempting practically all foods and grains, petroleum, tobacco, lumber and some other things from price control.

THE GRAIN SCANDAL

REPORTER: That reminds me. What did you think of the moves that took grains and feeds out from under price control?

SENATOR: That was done by a combination of grain Senators, like Reed and Capper, some Southerners and the New England and West Coast men.

REPORTER: I remember Senator Tobey (R, N. H.) uttering some "Macedonian" cries about the matter.

SENATOR: If feeding the hungry people of the world and keeping some bread on our own tables had not been involved, it would have been funny. You may remember that the Senate voted to end price control on meat and dairy products, and then turned down Reed's amendment to take controls off grains. Of course, that meant that the Midwest's corn and wheat would be fed to Midwest livestock, and very little of it would have gone beyond the local barnyards, either for the livestock in the New England and Pacific Coast grain-deficit areas or for humans. Nobody worried very much about the humans, but the Macedonian cries about the livestock were terrific—from Tobey, Aiken, Cordon (Ore.) and Bridges among others. But the New England and West Coast chickens and cows won out. Two days later, the Senate reversed itself and added grains and feeds to the decontrol list.

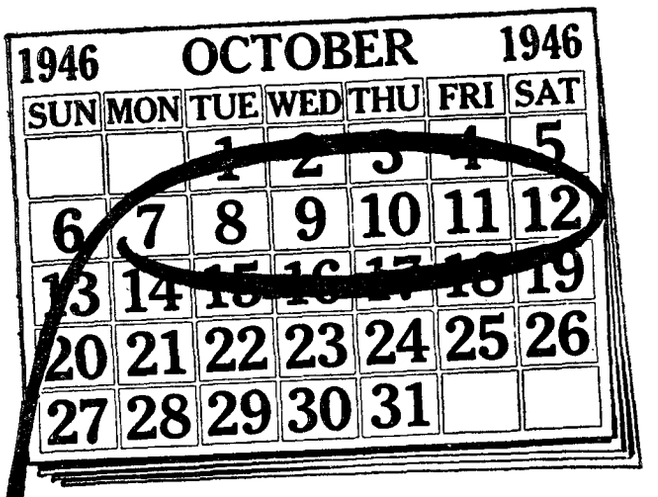
REPORTER: And as a result the OPA has had to raise the price of bread.

SENATOR: You can't let the price of grain shoot up, and hold ceilings on bread and other stuff made from it. Anybody knows that, Son.

REPORTER: Why did a lot of Southerners vote for the grain amendment?

SENATOR: Probably in a trade for their amendment eliminating price control on cottonseed. Overton (D, La.) engineered that. Taft sponsored the soybean end of the cottonseed amendment, and brought along a few soybean votes.

REPORTER: That was the time, I think, when Barkley wryly commented that everything was coming out of control except peanuts, and that he supposed the only reason they escaped was that no one wanted to be known as a peanut politician.



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SENATOR: *(Laughing.)* Alben's delightful. What he said, though, goes to the heart of what happened to the OPA in the Senate. The amendments written in by the dozen were as flagrant a case of back-scratching, log-rolling, trading and taking care of the special interests as I ever saw on any tariff bill.

THE SPOKESMEN FOR SPECIAL INTERESTS

REPORTER: I'd like to have a list of some of the worst special-interest amendments and their sponsors.

SENATOR: It would be pretty long. Of course, we've already mentioned the most important—the Taft manufacturers, the Wherry retailers, the meat, the dairy products, the grain, the cotton, and the soybean, but some of the others are interesting. Put down these, if you want: Fulbright put in an amendment for the farm-implement dealers. Gives 'em their prewar mark-ups and thus more money. Moore got petroleum out of control for himself and other oilmen. Hoey (D, N. C.) did the same thing for the tobacco companies of his state.

And then Russell (D, Ga.) and Maybank (D, S. C.) tried to get a special price-concession amendment for pulpwood. Hawkes (R, N. J.) did his best to get the National Association of Real Estate Boards their 15-percent rent boost. McFarland (D., Ariz.) made certain that the subsidies were continued on copper, lead and zinc. Millikin (R, Colo.) put in an amendment changing the classification of certain hotels and thus benefiting the operators. Buck (R, Del.) and Wherry took care of the National Retail Dry Goods Association by knocking out the OPA's maximum-average-price (MAP) plan on clothing. Hickenlooper (R, Ia.) put in a special amendment that took the work-glove industry out of some enforcement trouble. Radcliffe (D, Md.) besides getting poultry decontrolled, looked after some constituents who were in difficulties with the legal division of the OPA by getting through a couple of amendments hampering OPA enforcement. McClellan (D, Ark.) put one through to raise Southern pine prices. Johnston (D, S. C.), George (D, Ga.), Millikin and Hoey teamed up to get integrated textile mills better prices than the OPA thought they needed.

Knowland (R, Calif.) and Ferguson (R, Mich.) persuaded the Senate to adopt an amendment turning rent control over to any state that passed its own statute. There's quite a story about why it was thrown out in the conference committee. Governor Dewey of New York and Governor Warren of California, both Republican presidential hopefuls, had won considerable glory by having state rent legislation ready when the OPA lapsed. But they didn't want the job permanently. Enforcement would have cost millions. They or their men got on the phone and called off the Senate state-control enthusiasts.

Tobey engineered a last-minute coup that did the leather and coffee interests a big favor. It required the OPA to drop price control or raise prices whenever the American price of a scarce commodity exceeded the world price. It was in neither the House nor the Senate bill. Norman Littell, former Assistant Attorney General who was representing the interests concerned, spent several days hovering over the conference committee and, lo and behold, his amendment appeared in the bill, via Tobey.

That doesn't exhaust the list. Those are the ones that come to mind. But it's all in the record, Son. It's all in the record.

THE ATTACK ON THE OPA

REPORTER: You were in the House for a good many years, and still keep in touch with things over there. I wish you would run through the OPA situation there on the same basis. With all the House up for reëlection in November, the voters ought to get straight on what went on there. Most of the roll-call votes do not help much. The parliamentary situation was so tangled that on a lot of things you had friends and foes of the OPA voting the same way.

SENATOR: No politician is ever talked out. Of course, you realize that the price-control bill as it finally emerged was primarily a Senate job. In some ways though, the fight in the House was even more bitter. I haven't added up any figures, but I'd guess that the percentage of rabid, fanatic OPA-haters is higher in the House than in the Senate.

REPORTER: It was the House that first loaded the bill with booby-trap amendments.

SENATOR: Nothing could have been worse than the bill that came out of the House last April 18.

REPORTER: Who was responsible?

SENATOR: You can begin again with the Republicans. On vote after vote, Joe Martin (minority leader) cracked the whip and the Republicans marched up to be counted against the OPA. It was a remarkable demonstration of party discipline. About 90 percent, I'd say, were against the OPA, but those who had other convictions and dared to vote them can be counted on one hand—Joe Baldwin (N. Y.), Jim Fulton (Pa.), Charlie La Follette (Ind.), Gordon Canfield (N. J.). There may have been others.

Of course, for campaign purposes the Republicans can show you a lot of roll calls that will make it look as though the minority party voted for price control, but in cold fact they were either voting for a sham bill or just to send it along to the Senate.

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REPORTER: Here again, though, the Republicans could not have put over their crippling amendments without the help of some Southern Democrats.

SENATOR: Right. It took the combination. Some of the Southerners joined up with the Republicans across the aisle simply because they hate anything that smacks of government control, but more of them were thinking about special favors for cotton, Southern pine, or maybe the cattle-raisers of Texas.

YEOMEN FOR THE PEOPLE

REPORTER: What about the rest of the Democrats?

SENATOR: By and large the others put up a swell fight to save price control, and without them there would be no OPA. Every leader in the fight for the OPA came from the Democratic side. Take a man like Mike Monroney (Okla.). He knew what it was all about, and put up a wonderful battle. Spence (Ky.), the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, went all the way through on the bill, and I liked the reasonableness with which he appealed to the House. Wright Patman (Tex.) was another key leader. Mrs. Woodhouse (Conn.) did an able, excellent job, and so did the other women, Helen Gahagan Douglas (Calif.), Emily Taft Douglas (Ill.) and Mrs. Mankin (Ga.). The list is a sizable one. If you're using it, I'd hate to skip any of the real yeomen.

REPORTER: I can use some more names.

SENATOR: Fine. Add Barry (N. Y.), Outland (Calif.), Hook (Mich.), Mel Price, a newcomer from East St. Louis, Ill., Sullivan (Mo.), Hays (Ark.), Folger (N. C.), Gallagher (Minn.), Biemiller (Wis.), Forand (R. I.), Priest (Tenn.), Rowan (Ill.), Resa (Ill.), Kefauver (Tenn.) and Sabath (Ill.). As chairman of the Rules Committee, Sabath speeded the bill along several times. Howard Smith (Va.), who used to investigate the OPA, finally was convinced, and helped a lot in the end.

REPORTER: I remember Kopplemann (Conn.) too. When they were loading everything into the bill but the Pentagon, Kopplemann proposed an amendment: "I sympathize with the American people." Of course they voted it down. But let's go into more detail on who did the wrecking.

SENATOR: Jesse Wolcott (Mich.) takes the Number-one spot. In many ways his role in the House paralleled that of Taft in the Senate. But where Taft was the unofficial Republican leader, Wolcott, as the ranking minority member of the Banking and Currency Committee, spoke officially. He ran the Republican show. Martin and the rest voted as he decided. In another way, too, he resembles Taft. He's intelligent and knows the facts about the legislation he's handling. And he'll also insist that he's for price control; he just wants it "modified." Behind that plausible façade, he put across amendments to the bill that left it a shambles.

Land of the Free

These are the words our children sing; the words most often repeated by our statesmen and politicians. They are the words heard in London and Moscow, Paris, Belgrade and Berlin. They were heard at Cassino and Iwo Jima, on the fire-swept beaches of Normandy and in the hell that was the "Bulge."

Yet

In Tennessee today 25 Negroes are being tried for "attempted murder." All of the men who have been picked to serve on the jury candidly admit that they cannot extend the same justice to a Negro as they would to a white man. These Tennessee defendants, led by a 76-year-old businessman, a minister and ten veterans, attempted to protect their families from a mob. They were finally dragged from their shattered homes by highway patrolmen and battalions of state guardsmen who battered and shot down their doors without warrants of any kind. Two of them were later killed in prison by the same law which left a huge KKK scrawled with chalk in one of the wrecked buildings.

In Mississippi, a Negro was flogged to death for the alleged theft of a saddle. Later the saddle was found. The lynched Negro was then declared innocent. No action has been taken against the lynchers.

In Monroe, Ga., two Negro women and their husbands, one of them a veteran, were pulverized by a mob armed with shotguns and rifles. Thus four Negroes were lynched because one of them dared object to the unwelcome attentions being paid his wife by a local white farmer. The FBI and other law enforcement officers have been unable to discover any clues in the tiny community.

In Minden, La., a Negro veteran was dragged into the woods and lynched by a mob. Before he died, a blow-torch was applied to his face and body. He had been accused of having entered the yard of a white woman. Although the woman refused to bring charges, the mob was waiting at the precise moment the sheriff released the Negro from the jail after several days. There have been no arrests.

In Batesburg, S. C., a Negro veteran, home from the Pacific after four years' war service, accused of talking back to a white bus driver, was clubbed and beaten by a policeman after having been dragged from a bus. The trooper topped off the beating by gouging out both the veteran's eyes with the blunt end of his blackjack. There have been no arrests.

The words "whereabouts unknown" appear after the names of many Negroes who voted for the first time in primaries held in Southern states recently. Many of those who have disappeared were veterans.

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Wolcott and Crawford

Reporter: Wolcott's cost-plus manufacturers' amendment was not much different in effect from Taft's.

Senator: They simply used different methods of arriving at the same goal—higher prices for manufacturers. But Wolcott also had a fancy plan for ending subsidies on December 31 and for limiting the OPA to a nine-months' extension.

Reporter: All three of 'em went into the House bill, didn't they?

Senator: Yes, Wolcott had a steamroller going for a while.

Reporter: Whom would you rate as the Number-two wrecker in the House?

Senator: It's a little hard to choose, but you could not go far wrong in picking Crawford (R, Mich.). He was one of the Banking and Currency Committee's I-hate-the-guts-of-OPA boys. He voted for anything that would kill or cripple the OPA, but his particular contribution was the automobile dealers' amendment. It stayed in the bill, you know, and by forcing the OPA to give the dealers their prewar markups will raise the price of a $1,000 car about $78, and so on up.

Reporter: Have you heard about the conversation some of us had with him about his amendment?

Senator: No. What did Crawford say?

Reporter: We were sort of working around, trying to get him to admit that the automobile dealers' association had a hand in his amendment. But we needn't have worried about finesse. "Of course, the automobile dealers' association wrote that amendment," he snapped. "Who the hell do you think writes amendments around here? I just put it in for them."

Senator: Crawford is just a little franker than some of the others.

Reporter: Some of the other Republicans on the Banking and Currency Committee threw a few knives, I believe.

Senator: *(With a chuckle.)* Three of them in particular. Jessie Sumner (Ill.), "Doc" Smith (O.) and Buffett (Nebr.) are quite a crew. Jessie—well, since she's not running for reëlection, I won't take up that subject. Smith thinks only about "printing-press money" and drove witnesses wild with questions about it, and Buffett is sort of a sad case. A young man whose ideas have fossilized. All three belong to the crackpot school, but their nuisance value was serious. During the OPA hearings they used up days with ranting, repetitious questions. It was almost unbelievable. Suggest to your readers that they look up the record of the House OPA hearings. It's all there. Anybody can judge for himself.

Reporter: *(Feelingly.)* I sat through those hearings. I know I've seldom heard anything worse, and I've heard a lot.

Senator: On the actual score, though, I'd say Paul Brown (D, Ga.) did more damage to the bill than those three and a lot of others like them.

Reporter: Brown's the key man in the House cotton bloc, isn't he?

Senator: Yes, he's the Brown of the Brown-Bankhead amendments. They've raised a lot of cotton-textile prices. He put in this year's cotton amendments in the Banking and Currency Committee the very first thing. Ordinarily Brown is willing to subside when he gets everything he wants for cotton, but this year he developed a passion for the Wolcott or some other manufacturers' price-raising amendment, and he carried a number of other Southerners with him.

Paul Brown of Georgia

Reporter: I understand he held the balance of power in the conference committees.

Senator: And how! Brown wouldn't go along with the other Democratic conferees in demanding the elimination of the Senate decontrol amendments unless they would agree to some form of the Taft amendment. It's thanks to Brown more than anyone else that a manufacturers' amendment is in the bill today.

Reporter: All the time he was insisting that he was strongly in favor of price control. He practically broke down the House microphone shouting it. But before we finish this session, let's go into the operations of the meat lobby in the House.

Senator: Judge Montague and the Meat Institute were on the job. They were behind the Gossett (Ed Gossett, D, Tex.) amendment. It would have wiped out price control with one blast by requiring that ceilings be removed whenever current production equaled 1941 production. That would have ended price control on meat and nearly all foods, on coal, house furnishings, shoes, women's wool and rayon clothing and a long list of industrial products. It passed the House, but luckily the Senate junked it.

Flannagan (D, Va.) got the House to adopt an amendment ending meat subsidies on July 1, and Wadsworth (R, N. Y.) just missed in putting through an amendment to wipe out all price control on meat. He used the Meat Institute stuff in a big speech to the House.

Reporter: Could we list some of the other House members who put in special-interest amendments, or worked for the special interests?

Senator: Sure. Hartley (R, N. J.) was the National Retail Dry Goods Association man. He got them a House office for their anti-OPA exhibit. Sundstrom (R, N. J.) cut the wool manufacturers

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in on the same gravy given the cotton industry. Phillips (R, Calif.) attempted to get price exemption for California fruits. H. S. Baldwin (D, Md.) put in a rent-increase amendment for the real-estate crowd. Vinson (D, Ga.) proposed the pulpwood amendment in the House. Jessie Sumner introduced one to permit a veteran to evict any other tenant.

REPORTER: How about some of the other outstanding opponents of the OPA?

SENATOR: I couldn't begin to give you a complete list, but among them are: Halleck (R, Ind.), Clarence Brown (R, O.), Andresen (R, Minn.), Murray (R, Wis.), Miller (R, Nebr.), Taber (R, N. Y.), Curtis (R, Nebr.), Vursell (R, Ill.), Stewart (D, Okla.), Jenkins (R, O.), Lea (D, Calif.), Rankin (D, Miss.), Lemke (R, N. D.), Ellsworth (R, Ore.), Rizley (R, Okla.), Springer (R, Ind.), Gross (R, Pa.), Talle (R., Ia), Bates (R, Mass.).

REPORTER: Many thanks, Mr. Senator. I hope that what you've said will give some voters their cue when they go to the polls in November.

How to Win

"THERE IS ONLY one formula for political success—and that is hard work." (Robert Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.)

Victory in 1946 depends on whether progressives do the most work. During the next two months, it is up to the independent voter to overcome the apathy of an off-year election. There is no set of rules which will assure victory in an election, but there are many techniques which can offset the danger to the Democratic Party of a light vote this year.

Almost everyone belongs to some organization. Begin there, in your women's club, League of Women Voters, Rotary or veterans' organizations. Whether or not the organization is bi-partisan, you can start by urging members to register. Every vote is important. (Five more votes in each Colorado precinct in 1918 would have returned John Franklin Shafroth to the Senate. Shafroth's election would have given the Administration control of the Senate, but instead—by a majority of only one vote—the Republican Party took power and a Republican became head of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee and from that strategic position led the fight on the League of Nations.)

WHAT TO DO

To play your full part in the campaign, join a progressive voters' group, the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, the Union for Democratic Action, or a counterpart in your state. If your community has none, the responsibility falls on you and people like you to organize a group of this sort.

No matter how crowded campaign headquarters may be, there is always need for more volunteer workers. Sign up for regular work for your candidate. There are never enough people to stuff and stamp envelopes, answer mail, distribute literature. If you feel you want instruction on the "how" of ringing doorbells and canvassing neighborhoods, write to the National Democratic Headquarters, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., for a pamphlet called "Organizing for Democratic Victory," which explains in detail what county and precinct workers need to know. Also ask the headquarters to send you their "ammunition" literature for the facts about price control, housing, UNRRA, the British loan and UN—information that is essential to win votes at neighborhood rallies and community meetings. The National Citizens' PAC, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, has well written material for almost every political-action need.

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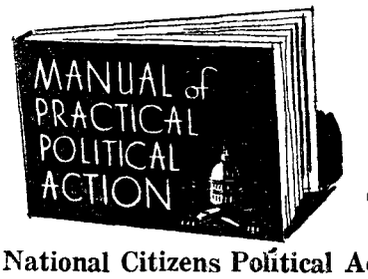

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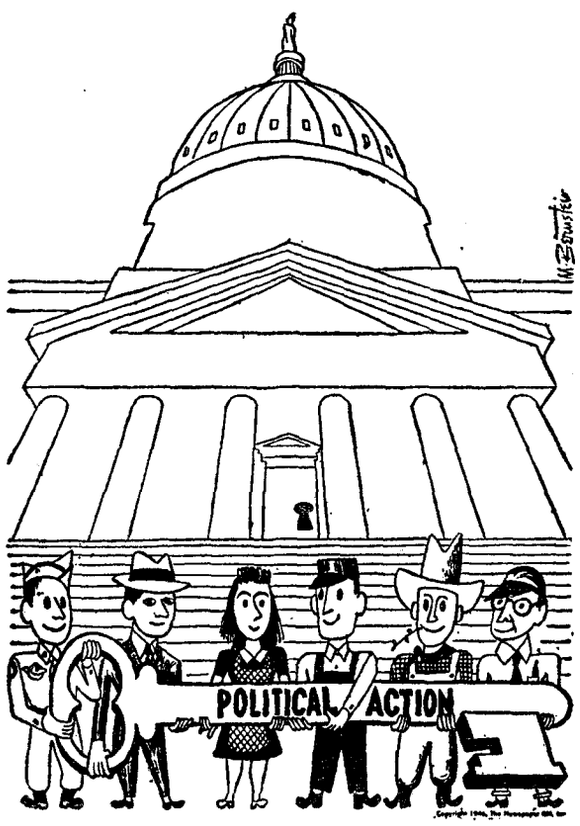
To many campaign committees one very important political-action technique is still a mystery. At least a little knowledge of public relations is a necessity if you expect to get the facts over to the voters through such media as newspapers, radio, speeches, leaflets and advertising.

The Public-Relations Job

Early in the campaign, when the major project is getting all eligible voters registered, the public-relations committee's job should be to form a non-partisan group including all civic-minded organizations and individuals to saturate the community with the theme of registration and voting. Reactionary forces, no matter how anxious for a small vote, cannot risk open opposition to such a group if its sponsors are leading citizens in the community. Later, as the campaign accelerates and public attention needs to be riveted on specific issues, another type of committee should be organized. This one should aim at arousing interest in political issues which affect the welfare of certain groups.

The voting record of the incumbent and the platform of the opposition should be made known to such special groups as veterans, Negroes, the foreign-born, labor, farmers and others—in each case emphasizing the legislation which affects that particular group.

There are five effective means of news dissemination which should be studied carefully by members of the public-relations committee:



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1. *Radio.* – Ordinary practice in the past has been to use the radio primarily for political speeches. But industry and politicians alike have discovered that straight talks are rarely desirable sales techniques, for the average radio listener prefers to be entertained. Better methods of holding the radio audience are spot announcements, snappy 30-second or one-minute flashes repeated several times daily; round-table discussion, a 15 or 30-minute program with three or four speakers to focus attention on political issues in the campaign; radio plays, which must be well written and directed. If dramatic talent is available, such programs should be presented on a six-to-eight-weeks schedule to permit the building of a steady audience. It is well not to try to put over too many ideas in one play. Suggestions for a historical review of voting in your area, or dramatization of local, state and national legislative processes, should be made to the radio-station manager.

2. *Newspapers.* – No matter which candidate a paper is supporting, the non-partisan committee should urge its editor to lead the drive for registration. Editorials and cartoons can be centered around this theme. Of course, one of the basic chores of any political-action group is to service newspapers with news releases, simply and neatly prepared. They should be issued only when the news merits the attention of the whole community and sent to the newspaper office by mail or messenger well before the paper's deadline. Accompany your stories with pictures, whenever possible. Don't neglect other press outlets such as the Negro, farm, labor, church and foreign-language newspapers.

Other Ways to Reach the Voter

3. *Advertising.* – This is an expensive but necessary item when the news channels are closed to a candidate. Newspaper advertising should follow the tested principle of avoiding long, confused statements. Catch the reader's interest by carrying as much emotional impact as possible.

4. *Leaflets.* – Special care should be given to what goes into leaflets prepared for mass distribution on the streets. Little time can be devoted to analyzing the arguments. Follow the previously cited advertising principles. Don't overlook the humorous approach. Even the most hardy intellectual will eventually tire of dry reading matter. Use cartoons, catchy phrases, readable charts.

5. *Local Speeches.* – Silver-tongued oratory has been supplanted by speaking based on facts presented simply and briefly. The speaker must not be argumentative; he must be willing to answer questions. Take every opportunity—precinct meetings, clubs or informal gatherings—to present the issues.

Posters, billboards, films and buttons are all good techniques. Pick the methods best suited to your situa-

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tion and your pocketbook and apply them, not as single units, but as part of a whole plan.

Remember what is at stake. The record shows that if the Republicans win a majority in either or both Houses of Congress this year, a progressive legislative program will have no chance. Look again at the first chart in this supplement and memorize the score of good and bad votes as between Northern and Western Democrats and Republicans. That is the choice.

Look again at the figures contained in the first section of the supplement and see how great the odds are against a progressive victory in an off-year election. A grim prospect, unless progressives turn their enthusiasm into practical political-action channels, unless they are willing to work at non-glamorous jobs for at least a part of every one of the 40-odd days between now and November 5.

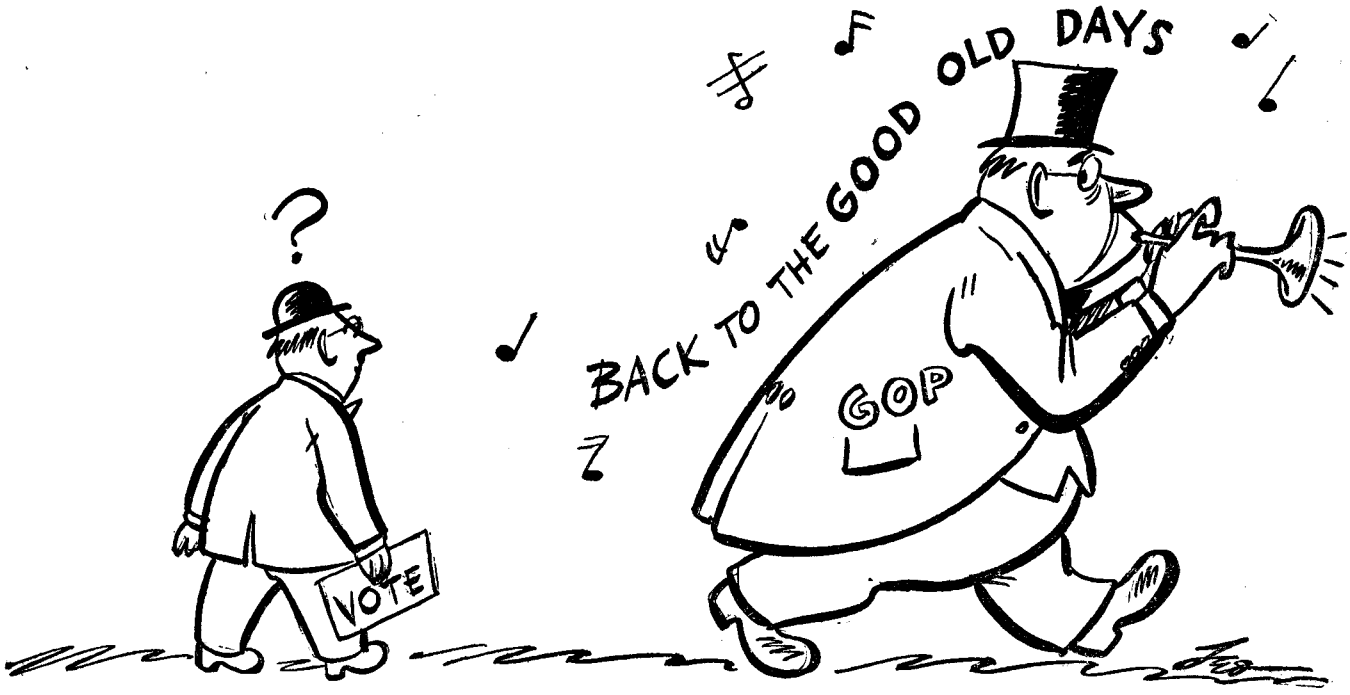
What Is at Stake

The issue as between Democrats and Republicans in this election is clearer than it has been at any time in the last 19 years. In the recent primaries, the powers that be in the Republican Party made it absolutely clear that they want no truck with liberalism. Progressive Republicans like Representatives Charles M. La Follette of Indiana and Joseph C. Baldwin of New York, Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin and even Nebraska's Governor Dwight Griswold, have been repudiated for their liberal heresies.

President Truman has sincerely tried to win passage of a forward-looking legislative program. It is still urgent business for the Eightieth.

If 1946 should be another 1942—a typically small-vote, off-year election—the Eightieth Congress might be even worse than the Seventy-ninth.

Remember: The Republicans need only 26 seats to take over the House and 10 to gain control of the Senate. If they succeed, the men who will be in high command are a group of conservatives with but one aim—to destroy progressive legislation which benefits the majority. This will happen if the vote is small, and the vote will be small if you fail to do your part. Hard work can make the Eightieth Congress a progressive Congress.



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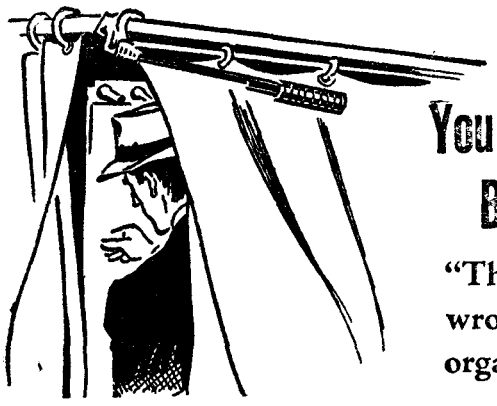

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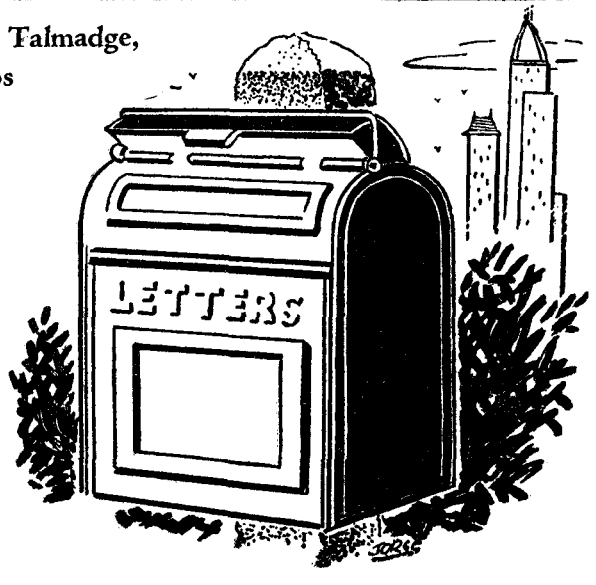

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